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THE STORY OF ROME

AS GREEKS AND ROMANS TELL IT

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THE STORY OF ROME

AS GREEKS AND ROMANS TELL IT

AN ELEMENTARY SOURCE-BOOK

BY

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PREFACE

THE object of this volume is to supply pupils in Roman history with interesting and instructive reading from the sources. This purpose has determined not only the selection of the material, but also the method of presentation. Although the book contains some descriptions of institutions, it is largely narrative and biographical; preference has been given to those passages which illustrate life and character, or which help the reader to an appreciation of general literature. To make the subject-matter intelligible as well as attractive to young readers, the quotations have been so connected and interwoven as to form a continuous story, and the difficulties have been explained in notes and references. These features will doubtless commend the book to many who, having passed the age of the pupil, are still interested in the literature and the life of ancient Rome.

As a basis for the text, English translations, so far as they are available, have been used with the consent of the publishers. These translations, however, have been freely altered, with a view chiefly to the simplification of the style; at the same time care has been taken to reproduce faithfully the meaning of the authors represented.

We believe this book will bring the reader so near to

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the Romans that he will look upon them as real men and women, whose character and conduct he can understand and appreciate. From this point of view sources rightly used have a high educational value.

Various improvements in the language are due to the revision of the proofs by Mr. Charles Lane Hanson of the Mechanic Arts High School, Boston. Miss Elizabeth Corinne Wood of the Wadleigh High School, New York City, who also has read the proofs, has given the book, especially in the annotations, the benefit of her experience as a teacher and of her good judgment. For the able assistance of both friends we are sincerely grateful.

THE EDITORS.

MEADOW BROOK,
May 9, 1903.

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EXPLANATIONS

Greece, *Rome*, and *Ancient History* are abbreviated titles of Botsford, *History of Greece*, *History of Rome*, and *Ancient History*.
Words supplied by the editors are enclosed in parentheses.

THE STORY OF ROME

AS GREEKS AND ROMANS TELL IT

The Story of Rome

CHAPTER I

I. Introduction to the Sources

The primitive Romans.

In their earliest settlement on the Palatine Mount the Romans were a simple, primitive people, ignorant of the comforts and the advantages of civilized life, such as the Orientals and the Greeks were then enjoying. Rude peasants and herdsmen, they knew nothing of schools or of reading and writing. A great good fortune came to them, therefore, when some Greeks from Chalcis, Eubœa, sailed to the coast of Italy near the present city of Naples, and founded the colony of Cumæ. For these new settlers began immediately to trade with the natives, — to exchange their artistic pottery and their well-woven cloths for the copper, the grain, the slaves, and other products of Italy. The Latins, who lived near, and who were a remarkably intelligent and practical people, eagerly learned whatever they could from these refined strangers.

Rome, p. 21; *Ancient History*, pp. 258, 275.

Greece, p. 33; *Ancient History*, p. 67.

Adoption of the alphabet.

The most valuable of all their acquisitions was the alphabet. At some time, accordingly, while the kings were ruling Rome, — which was simply a town of Latium, — some of the Romans learned to write and read. Traders began to use writing for business purposes; priests wrote prayers and rituals; and the pontiffs composed the *fasti*, or calendar, — a list of days of each month setting forth the festivals, the market-days, and the days which were lucky or unlucky for doing business. But neither priests nor pontiffs wrote any-

Rome, p. 29; *Ancient History*, p. 275.

thing about the events or the life of this early time, or recorded any information which could be of service to the historians, who lived hundreds of years afterward. Nearly all we know of Rome under the kings, therefore, rests upon inferences from the condition of her government, society, and religion at a later age. For this reason we call the regal period prehistoric.

The consular fasti.

Rome, pp. 66, 80; *Ancient History*, pp. 297, 306.

When the Romans instituted the republic and annual magistrates, they found it necessary to bear in mind who had served as consuls and dictators and in what order; for a man's position in the state depended chiefly on the offices he had held. As it was extremely difficult to remember a long series of names, the Romans early in the republic began to keep a written list of their annual magistrates. They called this list "fasti," for they had patterned it after the calendar. Thereafter they could date any event by the consuls of the year in which it happened.

Annals, laws, and treaties.

The pontiffs took another step toward the writing of history, when they began to insert in the fasti the striking events of the year, such as prodigies, eclipses, famines, and more rarely political and military happenings. A set of the fasti thus expanded they called *annals*, because in these records events were grouped by years. From the beginning of the republic, too, the Romans recorded their treaties and laws, — for instance the laws of the Twelve Tables and their treaty with Carthage. Some of this material was destroyed by the Gauls in their sack of the city, but was restored from memory with a fair degree of accuracy.

390 B.C.

Orations, family chronicles, and poetry.

Rome, p. 90; *Ancient History*, p. 311.

In the period of the Samnite wars statesmen began to keep notes of their political speeches; and toward the end of the period the great Appius Claudius Cæcus, by writing his orations in full, prepared the way for a national literature. At the same time the funeral orations in honor of distinguished men were expanding into diffuse, untrustworthy chronicles of families. The father, too, would often tell his children the wonderful tales of ancient times which he

had heard from his father. This oral tradition, however, was even more fabulous than were the family chronicles. Another kind of historical source was created in the First Punic War, when Nævius of Campania wrote a metrical story of that struggle, in which as a soldier he had borne a part. But though poetry of the kind may contain much historical truth, it is not real history; in fact Rome produced no historian till near the end of the Second Punic War — three hundred years after the founding of the republic. 201 B.C.

Value of the sources.

The writings of the republican age thus far mentioned, together with oral traditions and buildings of various kinds, were the only sources for the history of the period. The materials differed greatly in value. (1) The traditions which the earliest historians found at hand did not reach back beyond the second or third generation, excepting in the case of a few remarkable events; everything else which passed as tradition was really myth. (2) The family chronicles were a mixture of myth and tradition. (3) The political orations, though few, had a higher value for history. (4) The fasti even for the period before the Gallic invasion were fairly accurate. (5) The laws and treaties were absolutely trustworthy. In addition to the written and oral sources, there were (6) temples, city walls, and other public works, which in their own way told the early historian the story of Rome's progress through the past. For the first three centuries of the republic these were the chief sources used by the historians. By bearing in mind the relative value of these materials while we are reading any narrative of the period, we may determine in a general way what part to accept as trustworthy and what part to reject.

Age of the Annalists, 201–83 B.C.

Fabius Pictor.

Serious history, in contrast with the verses of Nævius, began with Fabius Pictor, a Roman senator and an officer in the war with Hannibal. He wrote in Greek, the literary language of the age, a history of Rome from Æneas to his own time. In the earlier part of the work, while depending chiefly on the meagre annals of the pontiffs, he introduced

many myths. Though in the treatment of his own time he followed reliable sources, he showed extreme partiality to his own city. He, too, grouped events by years, taking the pontifical annals as his model; and for that reason he is called an annalist — the first of a long succession of annalists.

Polybius. P. 144.

Rome, p. 122: *Ancient History*, p. 331.

After Fabius several persons wrote Roman histories in Greek, among them Polybius, a statesman of the Achæan league. He was brought as a hostage to Rome, where he became the tutor of the youth who was afterward known as Scipio Æmilianus. Polybius wrote a detailed account of the expansion of the Roman power. In preparing this work he examined documents, travelled about to learn the geography, climate, and products of the countries he treated, and especially attended to the causes, connection, and effects of events; in a word, he set a good example of studying history by the methods approved at the present day.

Cato the Censor. P. 150.

Cato was the first to compose a history of Rome and Italy — the *Origins* — in Latin prose; and it is chiefly for this reason that he is considered the founder of Latin prose literature. "He tells us that he himself wrote books on history with his own hand in large letters, that his boy might start in life with a useful knowledge of what his forefathers had done."

Teuffel and Schwabe, *Roman Literature*, i. p. 64.

An orator, too, of considerable force, Cato inserted many specimens of his eloquence in his history. "The Romans were well qualified for oratory by their acute intellect, their love of order, and their Italian vivacity tempered with Roman gravity." Constant practice at the funerals of their kinsmen, in the law-courts, in the assemblies, and in the senate had already in the age of Cato produced a number of able speakers. It was not till the following period, however, that their oratory, under Greek influence, reached its highest stage of perfection.

Valerius Antias, 90 B. C.

After the time of Cato the Censor, some of the annalists, departing from his plan of narrating facts in simple language for the instruction of the serious reader, began to

write for the entertainment of the public. To give their narrative a brilliant coloring they filled it with lively stories and startling incidents, however exaggerated and false. About the time of the Social War, Valerius Antias, the most infamous of these romancers, composed his *Annals* of Rome in seventy-five books.

The period of the annalists, which began with Fabius Pictor, 201 B.C., came to an end about 80 B.C. Then followed the historians. They were so called not because they surpassed the annalists in accuracy, for this was usually not the case, but because their literary style was superior. First in order let us consider Gaius Julius Cæsar, although he did not himself call his narratives history. While in war and in statesmanship his achievements place him among the foremost men of the world, his literary genius is scarcely less remarkable. In his writings he shows a faultless taste and a clear, direct, masterful style. His *Commentaries on the Gallic War* and *On the Civil War* are a plain but forceful narrative of his wonderful campaigns. The primary object of these works was to justify his wars and his political policy. The success with which he achieved this object testifies to the straightforwardness of his policy as well as to his mastery of the pen. Although from his point of view the "Commentaries" were mere notes which might prove useful to the future historian, the world concedes that no better history can be written.

The Ciceronian Age, 83–43 B.C.

Gaius Julius Caesar, 100–44 B.C.

Somewhat later Sallust wrote a monograph *On the Conspiracy of Catiline* and another *On the Jugurthine War*. Along with his narrative of events, he tried impartially to analyze the character of society and the motives of conduct. Perhaps no other Roman historian cherished so high a regard for the truth. These works we still have, but most of his *History*, in which he described the events following Sulla's death, has been lost. Cæsar and Sallust were the chief historians of their age. Though each noble family recorded the deeds of illustrious ancestors, no

Sallust.

national interest in biography arose till the closing years of the republic, when the great men of Rome began to attract all eyes. At this time Cornelius Nepos wrote a work *On Eminent Men*, in which he treated of famous Romans and foreigners. Most of his lives which we possess are of Greek generals; they show him to have been an inferior and untrustworthy author.

Nepos.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, 106–43 B.C.

In this age Roman oratory reached the height of its development in Marcus Tullius Cicero. As Cæsar embodied imperialism, Cicero represented the better spirit of the republic. As a statesman he cherished high ideals of republican freedom; as a citizen he was intensely patriotic; and his private character was worthy and amiable. His achievement was to bring the prose of his country to formal perfection, — to make Latin a great classical language. This result he accomplished by developing, refining, and enriching his mother tongue not only in oratory but in nearly every style of prose from philosophy to familiar correspondence. It is chiefly owing to his creative genius that Latin has been the universal language of learning and culture from his time almost to the present day. If in reading his *Orations* we make allowance for their rhetorical coloring and their political bias, we shall find them valuable for the study of the age. More trustworthy are his *Letters* to friends, in which he speaks candidly of passing events.

Rome, p. 182; *Ancient History*, p. 366.

Lucretius. P. 227.

As the temperament of the Romans was realistic and practical, they met with little success in imaginative literature. Lucretius, a poet of the Ciceronian age, composed in verse a work *On the Nature of the World*, in which he tried by means of science to dispel from the mind all fear of death and of the gods, — to free men from superstition. Notwithstanding the scientific details in which the poem abounds, it is a work of genius. Catullus, a brilliant poet of the same age, wrote beautiful lyrics on subjects of love and life, and some bitter lampoons. On

Catullus. P. 230.

the whole, the poetry of this period is less celebrated than that of the following.

The Augustan age, 43 B.C.–14 A.D.

At the time when Augustus established the imperial government, most thinkers and writers were republican in spirit. Disliking the rule of one man, some maintained a sullen silence; others recognizing the advantages of imperial peace, or won by the patronage of the emperor, easily adapted themselves to the new order of things. It was the policy of Augustus to enlist all the literary talent of Rome in support of his system. In his spirit, accordingly, and for the achievement of his grand purpose, the gifted writers aimed to purify and ennoble the present by bringing it the life of the good and great past. Livy, the most eminent author of prose in this age, wrote a *History* of Rome in a hundred and forty-two books.[1] From what has been said above on the sources of history for the regal period and the early republic, it will be clear that the military and personal details in the early books of Livy's works are largely mythical. Yet even in this part the author expresses vividly and accurately the character of Rome and of her citizens and institutions. From the time of the Punic Wars, the details of every kind are in a high degree trustworthy.

Livy.

P. 2.

Though in his conception of the aim and method of history he was far inferior to Polybius, whom he had read, he loved what he supposed to be the truth and the right. His sympathies were intensely republican, with his fine rhetorical training he would have been, like Cicero, a great orator, had he lived a few years earlier. Yet he consented to work for Augustus. His love of law and order, his hatred of violence and vulgarity, served the interests of his patron, while the vast compass and the stately style of his history, like the splendid public

[1] Books i–x and xxi–xlv, with mere summaries of the remaining books, have alone come down to us, and are our chief source for the earlier periods.

works of the age, helped make the imperial government magnificent.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

While Livy was writing his great work, Dionysius of Halicarnassus was compiling a detailed history of Rome from the earliest times to the beginning of the Punic Wars. As an historian he is on the whole inferior to Livy; and yet his work is a valuable source for the life and institutions of early Rome.

Diodorus the Sicilian.

Another Greek writer of the Augustan age, Diodorus the Sicilian, took a wider interest in history. Thirty years he devoted to travel over Europe and Asia and to study in the preparation of his vast historical *Library*, which narrated the events of the civilized world from the earliest times to the conquest of Gaul. The author showed no judgment in selecting his material or in putting it together; hence the different parts of his work are of unequal merit. He had no conception of the unity of history, and this fault, together with his arrangement of events by years, prevented him from tracing the causes, connection, and effects of events, — from being a good historian. His descriptions of countries and nations, however, are excellent; and in spite of all defects, his work is indispensable, as it is our only source for long periods of ancient history. Of the forty books we have the first five, the eleventh to the twentieth, and fragments of the other parts.

Strabo.

At the same time lived Strabo, the geographer. After travelling through many countries and learning much from earlier writers, he composed a description of the known world in seventeen books. He gives useful historical information, too, regarding many of the places which he mentions. Though he wrote in Greek, and had Greek blood in his veins, he was a native of Pontus in Asia Minor, and was connected with the ancient kings of that country.

Vergil.
Pp. 101, 240.

The poetry of the Augustan age is even more celebrated than the prose. In several ways Vergil, the poet, re-

sembles Livy. Both composed in a lofty style with high moral aims. Inspired by the greatness of Rome, both were patriotic from the heart, and expressed more perfectly than any other writers the ideals of their nation. The poet's narrative is as lively and as dramatic as the historian's. Vergil is graceful, tender, and childlike. His principal work is an epic poem called the *Æneid*. In this story of the wanderings of Æneas he glorifies the beginnings of Rome and at the same time, the imperial family, which claimed descent from the hero of his poem.

Rome, pp. 17, 216; *Ancient History*, pp. 265, 387.

Horace, author of *Odes* and *Satires* and *Epistles* in verse, was the poet of contentment and common sense, who bade his friends —

Horace. Pp. 233, 257.

> Snatch gayly the joys which the moment shall bring,
> And away every care and perplexity fling.

Leave the future to the gods, he taught. A comfortable villa, some shady nook in summer, and in winter a roaring fireplace, good wine, pleasant friends, and a mind free from care make an ideal life. After the stormy end of the republic, the world needed such a lesson; and though he remained independent in spirit, Horace quietly served his prince. His work abounds in references to manners, customs, and events, and hence is valuable for an understanding of the age.

Among the less celebrated writers of the Augustan age, Propertius was a young poet of rare genius, the most original master of the Latin elegy. Though inferior to him, Tibullus was more popular because of his sincerity and his gentleness. Both poets died young, before they could develop to the full the range and power of their art. Far more productive was Ovid, the polished poet of the gay, immoral circle which surrounded Julia, the daughter of Augustus. Ovid's great works are the *Metamorphoses*, a long poem made up of those legends — mostly Greek — which involve changes of human beings into animals,

Propertius and Tibullus. Pp. 36, 227 255, 257.

Ovid. P. 42.

plants, stones, or the like, and the *Fasti*, a metrical calendar containing some curious information regarding Roman customs. At the time when Julia was banished, Augustus ordered Ovid to leave Rome and to take up his abode at Tomi, a cheerless barbarian town on the Black Sea. There he passed the remainder of his life. His offence probably had some relation with Julia's immoral intrigues.

Velleius Paterculus.

Rome, pp. 219, 221.

To literature the banishment of Ovid was an evil omen; it pointed to the fact that thinkers and writers were growing restive under the imperial system, and that the emperor felt compelled to withdraw his patronage from literary men and even to repress their freedom. Under Tiberius the republican reaction against the empire was at its height; the time was therefore so unfavorable to literary work, that this reign produced no writers of talent or especial merit. Velleius Paterculus, who had served Tiberius as a military officer, wrote a short *History of Rome* to the year 30 A.D. The earlier period he treated briefly, his own age with greater fulness. Wordy and pompous, he is nevertheless fairly accurate in his statement of facts; and for the reign of Tiberius he enjoys the advantage of being our only contemporary source. Undoubtedly sincere in his admiration of the emperor, he overflows with eulogy, like a partisan rather than a calm-tempered historian. The same lack of historical temper we find in Valerius Maximus, who lived at the same time, and who wrote *Memorable Acts and Sayings* in nine books. The object seems to have been to supply the youth with material for declamations. The work is untrustworthy, but contains some interesting and useful information.

Valerius Maximus.

The Claudian and Flavian Age, 41–96 A.D.; Seneca the philosopher.

Rome, p. 234 f.; *Ancient History*, p. 396.

The decline of literature after Augustus showed itself in the rhetorical bombast, the far-fetched metaphors, and other unnatural devices of authors who reflected the artificial society of their day. At the same time provincial writers were bringing to Rome greater breadth of mind and deeper thought. An author of this type was Seneca the philosopher.

A Spaniard by birth, a Stoic, and a rhetorician, he became the tutor and afterward the prime minister of Nero. As a statesman he came far short of the high standard of morality which his writings present. Nevertheless his teachings fell like seed on a good soil, which in the following generations produced abundant practical virtue; for the merits of the five "good emperors" were due in considerable part to Stoicism, of which Seneca was the most brilliant exponent.

Rome, p. 228; *Ancient History*, p. 393.

Pliny the Elder.

Under the Flavian emperors Pliny the Elder wrote a *Natural History* in thirty-seven books. In addition to the natural sciences, it includes geography, medicine, and art. An encyclopædia compiled from two thousand different works, it is a great storehouse of knowledge. What Pliny did for science Quintilian, a native of Spain, achieved for rhetoric. His *Training of the Orator*, in twelve books, gives a complete course of rhetoric beginning with the boy and ending with the well-equipped public speaker. The work is valuable not only for the famous author's principles of rhetoric, but also for his opinions of the leading Greek and Latin writers.

Quintilian.

The Age of the Good Emperors, 96–180 A.D.; Tacitus.

The sufferings of republicanism under Domitian, followed by the happy reigns of Nerva and Trajan, produced the last great writers of classic Latin, Tacitus and Juvenal. One wrote history, the other satire, yet with a kindred spirit. The *Annals* and the *Histories*[1] of Tacitus covered the period from the death of Augustus to the death of Domitian. Besides these larger works he wrote a monograph on the *Life and Character of Agricola*, the conqueror of Britain, and another, the *Germania*, on the character and institutions of the Germans of his time. His experience as an army officer and a statesman gave him a clear understanding of military and political events. He was conscientious, too, and though he made little use of documents as sources,

[1] Of the *Annals* we have bks. i–iv, parts of v and vi, and xi–xvi, with gaps at the beginning and end of the last group of books; of the *Histories* there remain bks. i–iv and the first half of v.

we may trust his statement of all facts which could be known to the public. His style is exceedingly rapid, vivid, and energetic. His excellences as an historian, however, are balanced by serious defects. Though he owed his seat in the senate to Domitian, he belonged to the strictest circle of aristocrats, who were out of joint with the times and blocked the way of progress. Hatred of the "tyrants" from Tiberius to Domitian, and the bitterness he felt because of his party's failure, supplied him with inspiration for his gloomy narrative. He wrote in the reign of Trajan, when the empire was at the height of prosperity, the happiest age in ancient history; and yet he ignored the blessings the imperial government had brought the provinces. To most critics his chief merit lies in his dramatic portrayal of character; but his prejudice led him unconsciously to invent bad motives even for the best acts of the emperors, especially of Tiberius. His characters, however vivid and self-consistent, are the product of his gloomy, bitter imagination. Valuable as his work is to one who can distinguish between fact and fancy, it is as much satire as history.

Rome, p. 238; *Ancient History*, p. 398.

Rome, pp. 249, 261; *Ancient History*, p. 403.

Juvenal. P. 281.

Like the historian, Juvenal, author of *Satires*, was powerful and dramatic. With the inspiration of wrath and in the spirit of Tacitus, he looked back to the society of Rome under Nero and Domitian to find in it nothing but hideous vice. The pictures drawn by the historian are grand and fascinating; those of the satirist repel us by their ugliness; the works of both masters are unreal.

Pliny the Younger. Pp. 275, 291.

When Rome renounced the republic, so far as to consider her emperors good, she lost her motive for literary art. Her writers became shallow and insipid, without thought or imagination, who could only repeat what they had read. The best of this class was Pliny the Younger, an orator, and for a time governor of Bithynia. One of his speeches, a eulogy on Trajan, which has come down to us, is an example of the tiresome, feeble style of the day. His *Letters*, polished yet trivial, are valuable for the study of

the times. Less praise belongs to Suetonius, Hadrian's secretary, whose *Lives of the Cæsars* from Julius to Domitian is a mixture of useful facts and foolish gossip. We should constantly bear in mind that the worth of an author as an historical source is totally distinct from his literary merit, and that often writers who seem to be wholly devoid of historical sense supply us with most valuable information. This is true not only of Suetonius but of a younger contemporary, Aulus Gellius, whose *Attic Nights* is a storehouse of knowledge of "archaic literature and language, law and philosophy and natural science." The title is due to the fact that the compilation of the work occupied the author's evenings during a winter spent in Athens.

Suetonius.

Teuffel and Schwabe, *Roman Literature*, ii. p. 233.

A revival of Hellenic literature under the "Good Emperors" produced some authors of unusual merit. Appian of Alexandria wrote a narrative *History of Rome*. It is true that he was uncritical, yet this may be said of nearly every other ancient historian. Large parts of his work have come down to us, and are valuable. At about the same time "Plutarch wrote his immortal *Lives*, perhaps the most widely read and permanently attractive work by one author known to the world." In spite of the fact that he, too, lacked the training and the critical judgment of the historian, his biographies are among the most instructive sources for the persons and events of which they treat.

Appian and Plutarch.

Murray, *Ancient Greek Literature*, p. 395 f.

Somewhat later lived Dio Cassius of Bithynia, who became a Roman senator, and held the office of prætor under the emperor Pertinax. He composed in Greek a *History of Rome*, in eighty books, extending from the earliest times to 229 A.D. Though the style is rhetorical, his work shows remarkable insight and judgment. We have books xxxvi–liv entire, with fragments and abridgments of the rest.

Dio Cassius.

Rome, p. 268.

Several minor sources deserve briefer mention. Florus, whose time and country are unknown, composed in a highly rhetorical style an *Epitome of Roman History* from the

Minor sources.

founding of the city to the beginning of the empire. At the request of Valens, Eutropius wrote a dry *Compendium of Roman History* to the accession of his patron — 364 A.D. Aurelius Victor, who lived in the fourth century A.D., is said to have composed the *Origin of the Roman Nation; On the Illustrious Men of the City of Rome; The Cæsars*, brief biographies of the emperors from Augustus to Constantius; *Life and Character of the Roman Emperors*, from Augustus to Theodosius. It is probable, however, that all these works are not by the same hand. The six authors of the *Augustan History* — the lives of the emperors from Hadrian to Numerianus, 117–284 A.D. — wrote under Diocletian and Constantine, and dedicated their biographies to the one or the other of these emperors. Spartianus was the author of the life of Hadrian, and Capitolinus of the lives of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. This work, however devoid of literary merit, is a trustworthy and a highly important source. Lastly may be mentioned Eusebius, bishop of Cesarea, a zealous Christian and prolific author. His *Ecclesiastical History*, in ten books, gives much useful information concerning the early Christians and their relations with the empire.

Rome, pp. 278, 281; *Ancient History*, pp. 420, 422.

Inscriptions and buildings.

Inscriptions, too, form an exceedingly valuable source. Almost wholly wanting in the regal period and in the early republic, they grow abundant toward the end of the republican period; and for the administration of the empire they furnish the most precious information. For a full and accurate appreciation of Roman history, the public works should also be studied.

II. Italy and Her People

The form of Italy.

Polybius ii. 14.

Italy as a whole is a triangle, of which the eastern side is bounded by the Ionian Sea and the Adriatic Gulf, the southern and western sides by the Sicilian and Tyrrhenian (or Tuscan) seas. These two sides converge to form the

apex of the triangle. . . . The third side, or base, of this triangle is on the north, and is formed by the chain of the Alps, which stretches across the country from Marseilles and the Sardinian Sea, with no break, nearly to the head of the Adriatic Sea.

The valley of the Po.

To the south of this range, which I said we must regard as the base of the triangle, are the most northerly plains of Italy, the largest and most fertile, so far as I know, in all Europe. This is the district with which we are at present concerned.

Strabo v. 1. 4.

It is a superb plain variegated with fruitful hills. The Po divides it almost through the midst; one side is called Cispadana, and the other Transpadana. Cispadana includes the part next to the Apennines, together with Liguria; and Transpadana includes the remainder. The Ligurians of the mountains and the Celts of the plain occupy Cispadana; the Celts and the Venetians inhabit the other division.

(Or Gauls.)

Ib. v. 1. 5.

All Transpadana is full of rivers and marshes, especially the district of the Venetians, which is also washed by the tides of the sea. This is almost the only part of our sea (the Mediterranean) which, like the ocean, has ebb and flow tides. Hence most of the plain is covered with lagoons. After the manner of Lower Egypt, the inhabitants have dug canals and dikes, so that part of the country is drained and cultivated, and the rest is navigable. Some of their cities stand in the midst of water like islands, others are only partially surrounded. Such as lie above the marshes in the interior are situated on rivers navigable for a surprising distance, for instance the Po, which is a large river, constantly swelled by rains and snows. As it expands into numerous outlets, its mouth cannot easily be seen and is difficult to enter. But experience surmounts even the greatest obstacles.

The products.

The fertility of the Po valley is proved by its population, the size of the cities, and its wealth; in all these respects

Strabo v. 1. 12.

the Romans of this country surpass the rest of Italy. The cultivated land produces fruits in abundance and of every kind, and the woods contain so great a quantity of mast that Rome is supplied chiefly from the swine fed there. As it is well watered, it produces millet to perfection. This condition affords the greatest security against famine, as millet resists every severity of climate, and never fails even when other grains are scarce. The pitch works are amazing, and the casks prove the abundance of wine; for the casks, formed of wood, are larger than houses, and the great supply of pitch makes them inexpensive.

The soft wool, which is by far the best, is produced in the country round Mutina (modern Modena) and the Scultanna River. The coarse wool, on the other hand, which forms the main article of clothing among the Italian slaves, is grown in Liguria and the country of the Symbri. A medium kind, grown about Patavium (modern Padua), is used for the finer carpets, cassocks, and everything else of the same sort with the wool on one or both sides. The mines are not now worked so diligently, because they are not equally profitable with those of Transalpine Gaul and Iberia.

The Gauls; their appearance.

Diodorus v. 28.

The Gauls are tall and fair; they have naturally red hair, which they try to make redder by art. They often wash it in water boiled with lime, and turn it back from the forehead to the crown of the head, and from there to their necks, that their faces may be more fully seen; so that they look like satyrs and hobgoblins. By this treatment they make their hair as hard as a horse's mane. Some of them shave their beards; others let them grow a little. The nobles shave their chins close but let their mustaches fall so low as to cover their mouths. . . . At meal time they all sit, not on seats but on the ground, and instead of carpets they spread wolves' or dogs' skins under them. Young boys and girls, who are mere children, wait on them.

Near at hand on their hearths are their fires well furnished

with pots and spits full of the whole joints of meat; and by way of honor and regard, the best and fairest joints they set before their leading men, just as Homer introduces the Grecian captains entertaining Ajax, when he returned victor from his single combat with Hector. The verse reads —

Great meat-eaters.

> But Agamemnon, as a favoring sign,
> Before great Ajax set the lusty chine.

They invite strangers, too, to their feasts, and after all is over they ask who they are and what is their business. In the very midst of feasting, on any trivial occasion, it is a common custom for them to rise in anger, and without any regard for their lives, to begin fighting with their swords. For the opinion of Pythagoras prevails among them, that men's souls are immortal, and that there is a transmigration of them into other bodies, and after a certain time they live again. . . .

They are excitable. P. 207.

Greece, p. 95.

In their journeys and fights they use chariots drawn by two horses, which carry a driver and a soldier; and when they meet horsemen in battle, they fall upon their enemies with their javelins; then quitting their chariots, they come to close quarters with their swords. Some of them so despise death that they fight naked, with only their loins covered. . . .

To their servants they deliver the spoils of war, all besmeared with blood, to be carried before them in triumph; they themselves in the procession sing the hymn of victory. As the chief of their spoils they fasten their slain enemies over the doors of their houses, as if they were so many wild beasts taken in hunting. The heads of the leading men among their enemies they carefully deposit in chests, embalming them with the oil of cedar, and showing them to strangers, while they glory and boast that their forefathers, their fathers, or they themselves have refused to accept large sums of money offered for these trophies. . . .

The spoils of war.

Their garments are peculiar; they wear gayly colored cloaks, interwoven with various kinds of flowers, and they have a sort of hose which they call trowsers. Their cassocks they make of basket-work joined together with laces on the inside, and checkered with many pieces of designs in flowers. Those they wear in winter are thicker; those in summer thinner. . . .

The women and children.

Diodorus v. 32.

The women are as tall and as courageous as the men. Most of the children, from their very birth, are gray-haired; but when they grow up to men's estate, the color of their hair becomes like that of their parents.

The Etruscans.

Polybius ii. 17. (Phlegræan, "Volcanic," from the fact that the soil contained much volcanic matter.)

These plains (of the Po) were anciently inhabited by the Etruscans, who at the same time occupied the Phlegræan plains round Capua and Nola; the two places last mentioned have been most celebrated, because they were visited by many people, and so became known. In speaking then of the Etruscan empire, we should not refer to the district occupied by them at the present time, but to these northern plains, and to what they did when they lived there.

Their power.

Diodorus v. 40.

In ancient times they were valiant, and enjoyed a large country, and built many famous cities. With their great navy they were masters of the sea which washes the west coast of Italy, and which they called Tyrrhenian (or Tuscan), after their own name. As one of their military equipments they had invented a most useful instrument of war, — the trumpet, which from them is called Tyrrhena. To the generals of their army they gave as badges of honor an ivory throne and a purple robe. They invented porticoes for their houses, to avoid the trouble and noise of a crowd of servants, and other hangers-on. Introducing these customs into their commonwealth, the Romans greatly improved them.

Their learning.

(To the time of Diodorus; p. 8.)

The Etruscans gave themselves up to learning, especially to the study of nature. In these researches they were especially anxious to discover the meaning of thunder and lightning. To this day, therefore, they are admired by princes

the world over, who employ their soothsayers in interpreting the supernatural effects of thunder.

They enjoy a very rich country, well tilled and improved; and so reap abundance of all sorts of fruits, not only for necessary food but for pleasure and delight. **Their luxury.**

They have their tables spread twice a day, furnished with every variety of food, even to luxury and excess.

Their carpets are interwoven with flower designs, and they use a great many silver cups of many forms. Of household servants they have a large number, some very beautiful, others rich in apparel, above the condition of servants. Slaves and freemen alike have several apartments allowed them, completely furnished and adorned.

Finally the Etruscans threw off their primitive sobriety, and now live an idle, profligate life in riot and drunkenness. There is no wonder then that they have lost the honor and reputation their fathers gained through warlike achievements.

While they were under one authority, they flourished; but after a time as their confederacy was broken and the cities fell away from one another, they yielded to the violence of neighboring tribes. Otherwise they would never have abandoned a fertile country for a life of piracy on the sea, to rove from one ocean to another; for when united, they were able not only to repel those who assailed them, but to act on the offensive and undertake long campaigns. **Their decline.** Strabo v. 2. 2.

The whole of Latium is fertile, and abounds in every product; we should except a few districts along the coast, which are marshy and unhealthful. . . . Some parts also may be too mountainous; yet even these regions are not absolutely idle and useless, for they furnish abundant pasturage, wood, and the peculiar products of marsh and rock. For instance Cæcubum, wholly a marsh, nourishes a vine, which produces excellent wine. **Latium.** Strabo v. 3. 5.

One of the maritime cities of Latium is Ostia. It has **Ostia.**

no port because of the accumulation of silt brought down by the Tiber, which is swelled by many rivers. Vessels therefore come to anchor further out, and yet with some danger. Gain, however, overcomes everything; for there are many lighters in readiness to freight and unfreight the larger ships before they approach the mouth of the river, to enable them to finish their voyage speedily. Lightened of a part of their cargo, they enter the river and sail up to Rome, a distance of a hundred and ninety *stadia*. Such is the city of Ostia founded by Ancus Marcius.

(A *stadium* is about 600 feet.)

Antium.

Next in order is Antium, which is likewise destitute of a harbor. It is situated on some rocks about two hundred and sixty stadia from Ostia. At present it is devoted to the leisure and recreation of statesmen; there they rest from their political duties whenever they can find time. The country is therefore covered with sumptuous mansions suited to such rusticating. Once the people of Antium had a navy; and after their city fell under the power of Rome, some of them joined the Etruscan pirates.

Æneas comes to Latium.

Strabo v. 3. 2. *Rome*, p. 17; *Ancient History*, p. 265.

They say that Æneas, with his father Anchises and his son Ascanius, arrived at Laurentum, near Ostia and the bank of the Tiber, where he built a city about twenty-four stadia from the sea. Latinus, king of the Aborigines, who then dwelt on the site where Rome now stands, employed his forces to aid Æneas against the neighboring Rutulians, who inhabited Ardea, a city a hundred and sixty stadia from Rome. After gaining the victory, Latinus built near the spot a city which he named after his daughter Lavinia. But in a second battle, begun by the Rutulians, Latinus fell, and Æneas, winning the victory, succeeded to the throne. He named his subjects Latins. After he and his father had died, Ascanius founded Alba on the Alban Mount, about as far from Rome as is Ardea. Here the Romans and the Latins jointly offer sacrifice to Jupiter. The magistrates all assemble, and during the festival the government of the city is intrusted to some distinguished

(Lavinium, p. 46.)

youth. The story of Amulius and his brother Numitor, partly fictitious and in part seemingly true, belongs to a period four hundred years later. P. 29.

Rome. Strabo v. 3. 7.

In the interior the first city above Ostia is Rome — the only city built on the Tiber. Its position was fixed by necessity rather than choice. We may add that those who afterward enlarged it were not at liberty to select a better site, as they were prevented by what was already built. . . . It seems to me that the first founders were of the opinion, in regard to themselves and their successors, that the Romans had to depend not on fortifications but on arms and valor, for safety and wealth, and that walls were not a defence to men, but men were a defence to walls. At the time of its founding, when the large and fertile districts about the city belonged to others, and while it lay easily open to assault, there was nothing in its position which could be looked upon as favorable; but when by valor and labor these districts became its own, there succeeded a tide of prosperity which surpassed the advantages of every other place.

Her buildings.

Notwithstanding the prodigious increase of the city, there has been plenty of food, and of wood and stone for ceaseless building, made necessary by the falling down of houses, by fires, and by sales, which seem never to cease. These sales are a kind of voluntary destruction of houses; each owner tears down and rebuilds one part or another according to his own taste. For these purposes the many quarries, the forests, and the rivers which convey the materials, offer wonderful facilities. . . .

To avert from the city damages of the kind referred to, Augustus Cæsar instituted a company of freedmen to lend assistance at fires; and to prevent the falling of houses, he decreed that new buildings should not be carried so high as formerly, and that those erected along the public streets should not exceed seventy feet in height. These improvements must have ceased, had it not been for the

facilities afforded by the quarries, the forests, and the ease of transportation.

Præneste.

At Præneste is the celebrated temple and oracle of Fortuna. This city and Tibur are on the same mountain chain, and are a hundred stadia apart. Præneste is two hundred stadia from Rome; Tibur is nearer. It is said that both were founded by Greeks, and the name of Præneste used to be Polystephanus ("the city of many crowns"). Both are fortified; but Præneste is the stronger, as its citadel is a lofty mountain which overhangs the town, and is divided from the adjoining range by a neck of lower ground. In direct altitude the mountain is two stadia higher than the neck. In addition to these natural defences, the city is supplied on all sides with underground passages, which extend to the plain; some convey water, the others form secret ways.

Strabo v. 3. 11.

Campania.

Next in order after Latium is Campania, which extends along the Tuscan Sea. . . . This plain is fertile above all others, and is entirely surrounded by fruitful hills and the Samnite and Oscan mountains.

Strabo v. 4. 3.

The plains about Capua are the best in Italy for fertility and beauty and nearness to the sea, and for the harbors, into which run the merchants who are sailing to Italy from all parts of the world. They contain, too, the most famous and beautiful cities of Italy. . . . In the centre of these plains lies the richest of all the cities, — Capua. No tale in all mythology wears a greater appearance of probability than that which is told of these lowlands, which like others of remarkable beauty are called the Phlegræan plains; for surely none are more likely for beauty and fertility to have been contended for by the gods.

Polybius iii. 91.

P. 18.

In addition to these advantages, they are strongly sheltered by nature and difficult of approach; for one side is protected by the sea, and the rest by a long high chain of mountains, through which lead but three passes from the interior, all narrow and difficult, — one

from Samnium (a second from Latium), and a third from Hirpini.

One proof of the fertility of this country is that it produces the finest corn. I refer to the grain from which a groat is made superior to all kinds of rice, and to almost all other farinaceous food. They say that some of the plains are bearing crops all the year round, — two crops of rye, a third of panic, and sometimes a fourth of vegetables. From there, too, the Romans procure their finest wines. . . . Furthermore, the whole country round Venafrum, and bordering the plains, is rich in olives. Strabo v. 4. 3.

The Samnites and the Sacred Spring.

The following tradition concerns the origin of the Samnites. The Sabines, engaged in a long war with the Umbrians, made a vow, common with some of the Greek nations, that they would consecrate to the gods the products of the year (or more accurately, of the spring). As they were successful, they sacrificed one kind of product (their animals) and consecrated the other (fruit). In a time of scarcity, however, some one remarked that they ought to have consecrated their children as well. This then they did; and the children born in that period were called sons of Mars. When they had grown to manhood, they were sent forth, with a bull as leader, to found a colony. Strabo v. 4. 12. *Rome*, p. 3. (These colonists were called Samnites. The Sabellians included the Sabines and all their colonists.)

The bull lay down to rest in a place belonging to the Opici, a people who lived in villages. These inhabitants the Sabines drove out, after which they established themselves in the place. By the direction of the seers they sacrificed the bull to Mars. It seems to have been with reference to this custom of the Sacred Spring that the Sabine parents called their colonists by the diminutive form "Sabellians." . . .

An excellent custom.

Among the Samnites is a law, in itself excellent and calculated to stimulate virtue. It is not lawful for fathers to give away their daughters to whomsoever they please; but every year ten of the most virtuous young women and

ten of the most virtuous young men are selected; they then marry the most excellent young man to the most excellent young woman, the second to the second, and so in order. Should he who receives such a reward change and become wicked, he is dishonored, and his wife is taken away from him.

(Other Samnite customs, p. 74.)

Summary of Italy.

Strabo vii. 4. 1.

Such is Italy, as we have described it. We will now summarize the qualities which have helped raise the Romans to so great a height of prosperity. One point is its insular position, by which it is securely guarded; for the seas form a natural protection round it, with the exception of a short frontier, which too is fortified by almost impassable mountains. A second is that the harbors, though few, are capacious and admirably situated. They are of great service for enterprises against foreign places, for defence against invasions, and for the reception of abundant merchandise. A third advantage is the climate, in which animals and plants may be accommodated with every variety of mild and severe temperature. In length it extends north and south; Sicily, a large island, we must consider an addition to it. . . .

Situated as it is between the extremes of heat and cold, and having such a length, it enjoys a great variety of temperate climate. This advantage is increased by another feature; the Apennines extend through its whole length, and leave on each side plains and fruitful hills; so that there is no district which does not enjoy the best products of both hill and plain.

We must notice, too, the number and size of its rivers and lakes, and the springs of hot and cold waters supplied by nature in various localities for the restoration of health, and in addition the great wealth in mines of all the metals, the abundance of timber and of excellent food for man and for beasts of all kinds. Situated, too, in the midst of the greatest nations, — which include Greece and the best provinces of Asia, — Italy is naturally in a position

to gain the ascendency; for she excels the surrounding countries in the valor of her people as well as in extent of territory; and by her nearness to them she seems to have been ordained to bring them into subjection without difficulty.

Sicily.

In Sicily, they say, are mountains called Heræa, so pleasant in situation, and of so sweet an air, that no better place can be found for recreation in summer-time; for there are many springs of sweet water, shaded with trees of all sorts. There are woods of tall, stately oaks, which bear acorns of a vast size, twice as many and twice as big as in any other part of the world. Diodorus iv. 84.

There likewise grow abundant roots and herbs, wild vines and an unspeakable number of melons; so that once a Carthaginian army, when on the point of starvation, was there refreshed and saved; and though so many thousands were then fed, plenty remained in the mountains still.

Sicilian myth.

The Sicilians say this island is dedicated to Ceres and Proserpine. Some poets assert that at the marriage of Pluto and Proserpine, Jupiter gave the island as a present to the bride. The most approved authors, however, say that the Sicilians were the earliest human inhabitants and possessors, and that the goddesses we have named first appeared on earth in this place; and that from the fatness of the soil corn first grew there of itself, — a fact which the most eminent of the poets confirms in these words: (In Greek, Hades and Persephone; *Greece*, p. 92.) Diodorus v. 2.

> Within this island all things grow
> Without the help of seed or plough,
> As wheat and barley, with the vine,
> From whence proceed both grapes and wine,
> Which with sweet showers from above
> Are brought to ripeness by great Jove.

For in the country of Leontini, and in many other parts of Sicily, wild wheat grows to this very day. . . .

Ib. v. 3.

The abduction of Proserpine, they say, was in the meadow of Enna, not far from the city, in a place clad in

violets and all sorts of flowers, which afforded a most beautiful and pleasant sight. It is said that the fragrance of the flowers robs hunting dogs of their scent, so as to make them incapable of following their prey.

Corsica.
Diodorus v. 13.

There is another island called by the Greeks Cyrnus, and by the Romans and natives Corsica. . . . It is easy of access and has a large, beautiful harbor.

Ib. v. 14.

The inhabitants feed upon honey and meat, which this country produces plentifully. The natives excel all other barbarians in justice and humanity toward one another; for when any one finds honey in a hollow tree in the mountains, it is without dispute his who finds it. All the sheep have their owner's mark set on them, and this sign secures the property to their masters, though no shepherd looks after them. And in all the associations of life, every one, in his own station, observes the rules of common right and justice. . . .

In the island grow many remarkable box-trees, which give the bitter taste to their honey. The language of the barbarian inhabitants is strange and difficult to learn. The population numbers above thirty thousand.

Sardinia.
Diodorus v. 15.

Next to Corsica lies Sardinia, an island as large as Sicily. It is inhabited by barbarians called Iolæi, descended, as they suppose, from Iolaus and his fellow-colonists. . . . Their captain, Iolaus, the nephew of Hercules on his brother's side, took possession of the island, and built on it several famous cities. After dividing the country by lot among his people, he gave them his own name. Then he built public schools, temples, and other useful public works, which remain to this day as monuments of their founder. . . .

The oracle foretold that if the colonists bore his name, they should be able to maintain their freedom forever; and accordingly their laws and government have continued firm and unshaken to this day. For though the Carthaginians, in the height of their power, took the island, they could

not enslave the people; for the Iolæi fled to the mountains, and dug underground homes, and kept many herds and flocks of cattle, which afforded them enough milk, cheese, and meat for food. In leaving the plain, they freed themselves from the toil of ploughing and tilling the ground, and lived at ease in the mountains. content with a mean and moderate fare. . . . And lastly the Romans, after mastering the island, have often attempted to reduce the people by force of arms; but for the reason here given, they have never succeeded.

The greatness of Rome.

(After making themselves supreme in Italy, the Romans conquered Sicily, then Sardinia and Corsica. Afterward the whole Mediterranean region fell rapidly under their sway.) Rome is now mistress of every accessible country; every sea owns her power. She is the first and only state recorded in history which ever made the East and West the boundaries of her empire. And her dominion has not been of short duration, but more lasting than that of any other commonwealth or kingdom. For after the city had been founded, she conquered many warlike nations, her neighbors, and still advanced, overcoming all opposition. . . . By the conquest of all Italy, she was emboldened to proceed even to universal empire; and having driven the Carthaginians from off the sea, whose maritime strength was superior to all others, she subdued Macedon, the most powerful nation by land till that time; and as no enemy was left either among the Greeks or the barbarians, she is mistress of the whole world. . . . There is no nation that claims a share in her universal power, or refuses obedience to it. But I need say no more to prove that I have not made choice of a petty subject, or proposed to relate trivial or obscure actions, but have undertaken the history of the most illustrious state and of the most brilliant achievements that can possibly be treated.

Dionysius i. 3.

STUDIES

1. Could the founders of Rome read and write? Why could the later Romans know nothing of the founding of their city? From whom did the Romans receive the alphabet?

2. Which are the more reliable sources, treaties or oral traditions? the pontifical annals or the family chronicles? political orations or funeral orations? Give reasons.

3. Why do we consider Fabius Pictor rather than Nævius the first historian? What are the good qualities of Polybius as an historian? Why did not the Roman historians imitate Polybius?

4. What is the difference between an historian and an annalist?

5. Why do we class Cæsar among the historians?

6. What useful historical information may we obtain from the orators and the poets?

7. What part of Livy's narrative of the kings is trustworthy? what part of his narrative of the republic before the Punic Wars? Why is the remainder of his history more trustworthy? In what respect has a contemporary writer the advantage of later writers? In what respect is he at a disadvantage?

8. What are the merits of Tacitus as an historian? What are his defects?

9. What is the form of Italy? Describe the valley of the Po River. What did that region produce?

10. Describe the Gauls. Where did they live? What did they do with the spoils of war? Describe their women and children. Who was Pythagoras?

11. Where did the Etruscans live (map, *Rome*, p. 5; *Ancient History*, p. 257)? Describe them. What did the Romans borrow from them? Why did they decline?

12. Describe (from the maps, *Rome*, pp. 1, 41; *Ancient History*, pp. 255, 283) the location of the Po River, the Apennine Mountains, Rome, Ostia, Antium, Tibur, Præneste, Latium, Campania, Cumæ, Lavinium, Tuscan (or Tyrrhenian) Sea.

13. What advantages and disadvantages of situation had Rome?

14. Describe the Sacred Spring. What other "excellent" custom had the Samnites?

15. Summarize the good qualities of Italy.

16. Which is the more desirable country, Sicily or Italy? Compare Sardinia and Corsica with Sicily.

CHAPTER II

The Seven Kings — The Prehistoric Age

753 (?) – 509 B.C.

Numitor and Amulius.

THE royal power of Æneas at Alba Longa was handed down through several generations to two brothers, Numitor and Amulius. Amulius offered his brother the choice between the kingship and the royal treasure, including the gold brought from Troy. Numitor chose the kingship; but Amulius, who now possessed all the treasure, and thereby more power than his brother, easily dethroned him. And as he feared his brother's daughter might have children who would avenge their grandfather, Amulius made her a priestess of Vesta, sworn to live unmarried all her days. This lady is called by some Ilia, by others Rhea or Silvia.

Plutarch, *Romulus*, 3.

P. 20.

P. 41; *Rome*, p. 29; *Ancient History*, p. 274.

Romulus and Remus.

Though a Vestal, she bore to Mars (god of war) twin sons of remarkable size and beauty. . . . But neither gods nor men protected her or her children from the king's cruelty. He had the priestess bound and imprisoned; the children he ordered to be thrown into the current of the river. . . . Then his servant placed the infants in a cradle, and went down to the river to throw them in; but as he saw it running strong and wild, he feared to come near. So laying the cradle on the bank, he went away. The river rose, and gently floating off the cradle, carried it down to a soft place now called Cermalus. . . . It is said that while the infants were lying in this place, a she-wolf nursed them, and that a woodpecker came and helped feed

Livy i. 4.

Plutarch, *Romulus*, 3.

(Near the Palatine Mount.)

Ib. 4.

Rome, p. 28; *Ancient History*, p. 274.

them and watch over them. These animals are sacred to the god Mars; and the Latins reverence and worship the woodpecker. . . .

Their education.

Plutarch, *Romulus*, 6.

Faustulus, the swineherd of Amulius, found the children, but kept them concealed from every one, though some say that Numitor knew of the discovery, and shared the expense of their education. They were sent to Gabii to learn their letters and everything else that well-born children should know; and they were named Romulus and Remus.

When they came to be men, they showed themselves in person and in mind unlike swineherds, but like sons of kings and of the gods; and as such they are still celebrated by the Romans in their national hymns. Their life, however, was that of herdsmen; they supported themselves by their own work, and lived on the hills in huts made of wood and reeds. One, called the hut of Romulus, remains even to this day in the corner of the road from the Palatine Mount to the Circus (Maximus). It is kept holy by those who have charge of such things; they add to it no ornaments to render it more august; but if any part of it is injured either by storms or by time, they repair the damage, and try to restore it as nearly as possible to the original condition.

Dionysius i. 79.

They plan a colony.

Plutarch, *Romulus*, 9.

(When Romulus and Remus had grown to manhood, they killed Amulius and replaced Numitor, their grandfather, on the throne.) Not wishing, however, to live at Alba as subjects, or to reign there during the life of their grandfather, they left him the kingship; and after providing for their mother, they planned to dwell by themselves and to found a city in the place where they had been reared.

But the desire to be sole ruler interrupted their plans and provoked them to a shameful quarrel. As they were twins and neither could claim the rights of an elder brother, they finally agreed to leave it to the guardian gods of the place to

Livy i. 6.

choose by augury[1] which should give his name to the new city and govern it when built. Romulus chose the Palatine Mount, and Remus the Aventine, as posts of observation.

The founding of Rome

Plutarch, *Romulus*, 9.

The story is that six vultures appeared to Remus, and afterward twice as many to Romulus. Some say that Remus really saw his vultures, but that Romulus pretended only to have seen them. . . . When Remus discovered the deceit, he was very angry, and while Romulus was digging a trench round the city, the brother jeered at the work and hindered it. At last as he jumped over (the new-built wall), either Romulus or a companion struck him dead.

Ib. 10.

Ib. 9.

Soon after founding their city, the Romans made it a sacred refuge for people in distress, receiving into it all sorts of persons. They refused to give up slaves to their masters, debtors to their creditors, or murderers to their judges, but declared that in accordance with a Pythian oracle[2] the sanctuary was free to all; so that the city soon became full of men, for they say that at first it contained no more than a thousand houses.

Romulus

The tribes and the curiæ.

Dionysius ii 7–14 (abridged).

Appointed king, Romulus proved himself brave and skilful in war and wise in the adoption of a most excellent form of government. He divided the whole population into three parts, each of which he placed under the command of a distinguished person. Then dividing these parts into ten companies, he appointed the bravest men to be their leaders. The larger divisions he calls tribes, and the smaller *curiæ*. The leaders of the tribes were tribunes; those of the curiæ were *curiones*.

[1] Augury was the process of learning the divine will by watching the signs sent by the gods. The augurs were the religious officials who attended to this service; see *Rome*, p. 29; *Ancient History*, p. 275.

[2] That is, an oracle, or prophecy, of the Pythian or Delphic Apollo; see *Greece*, p. 99.

The social ranks.

Another division of the population he made on the principle of honor and worth. Those who, illustrious by birth and commended for their virtue, were well-to-do and had children, he separated from the ignoble and base and needy. Those of inferior fortune he called plebeians; the better class he named *patres* (fathers) because they were older than the rest, or because they had children, or on account of their illustrious birth, or for all these reasons. Their descendants were called patricians. Whenever the king wished to bring the patricians together, his heralds used to summon them by their own name and that of the father; but the common people were called to the assembly by servants, who went about trumpeting on ox-horns.

After Romulus had distinguished the nobles from the commons, he passed laws to regulate the duties of each rank. The nobles were to be priests, magistrates, and judges, and were to help him manage the affairs of the city. The commons he excused from this business, for they had neither experience in such matters nor leisure to attend to them. They were to farm, to rear cattle, and to carry on the money-making industries, that they might have no time for party strife, such as we find in other cities, where those in office abuse the lower classes, and the base and needy envy the richer citizens.

The patrons and the clients.

(Dionysius is probably wrong in assuming that all plebeians became clients.)

Placing the plebeians as a trust in the hands of the patricians, he permitted each commoner to choose as patron the noble whom he wished. The patrons were to explain the laws to their clients who were ignorant of such matters, and to watch over their business affairs as a father does for his children, to sue for them when they were unjustly treated, and to defend them when sued. The clients were to contribute to the dowry of their patron's daughters, to furnish the ransom in case the patron or his son should be taken captive, to pay their lord's fines, and to bear part of the expenses of the offices he held, that he might per-

form his public duties with becoming dignity. It was impious for patron and client to accuse each other or to testify or vote against each other.

(We infer that the clients had a right to vote.)

After making these arrangements, Romulus resolved to appoint councillors who were to help him manage the government. For this purpose he selected a hundred men from the patricians, and called this council the senate. He made also an assembly of commons, to which he granted three powers, — the election of magistrates, the ratification of laws, and the decision of questions of war and peace. The resolutions of the assembly, however, had no force unless the senate approved them.

The senate and the assembly.

(The *comitia curiata*.)

The most effective of all the arrangements of Romulus — the one which did most not only to maintain the freedom of Rome, but also to win for her the supremacy over other states — was the law which bade the Romans not to massacre or enslave conquered peoples or to lay waste their land, but to settle part of the conquered territory with Roman citizens, to found colonies in some conquered towns, and to give others the Roman citizenship. The kings who followed him, and still later the annual magistrates (consuls), carried out his liberal policy to such an extent that in time the Roman nation came to excel all others in population.

The liberality of Rome toward strangers.

Dionysius ii. 16.

The care of religion he intrusted to many persons. In no other newly built city could be found so many priests and attendants of the gods. . . . Each curia elected two men above fifty years of age, of noble birth, of good character and sufficient wealth, and of sound body, to act as priests for the remainder of their lives, exempt from military and political duties. And as it was necessary that the women and the children should have some part in performing religious rites, Romulus enacted that the wives of priests should assist their husbands in religious services, and that the women and children should attend to those ceremonies which could not lawfully be performed by men.

Religion.

Dionysius ii. 21.

The power of the father.

Dionysius ii. 26.

Romulus gave the father absolute, lifelong power over the son, including the right to scourge him, to bind him and compel him thus to toil in the fields, or to put him to death, even if the son chanced to be engaged in public affairs, even if he were occupying high offices or were being commended for his public liberality. According to this law, illustrious men, while delivering from the rostra harangues against the senate but in favor of the people, men who for this reason were highly popular, have been dragged from the rostra by their fathers to suffer whatever punishment the latter should think right. And while these sons were led away through the market-place, no one was able to rescue them — neither the consul, nor tribune of the plebs, nor the mob whom they were flattering, and who considered its own power superior to all authority. I will not mention those whom fathers have slain, good men moved by virtue and zeal to achieve some noble deed forbidden by their parent. Such was the case with Manlius Torquatus and many others, in regard to whom I shall speak at the proper time.

Rome, p. 73; *Ancient History*, p. 301.

(The consul who put his son to death for disobedience; p. 74.)

Dionysius ii. 27.

The Roman legislator did not limit the father's authority at this point, but gave him permission to sell the son . . . granting to the father more power over the son than to the master over his slaves; for if a slave is sold and afterward given his liberty, henceforth he remains free, whereas if the son is sold by the father and then liberated, he falls again under the paternal power, and a second time in like manner; not till after the third sale does he become free from his father.

The Romans need wives.

Livy i. 9.

And now the Roman state had grown so powerful that in war it was a match for any of the neighboring nations, but from the scarcity of women its greatness could last for one generation only. . . . By the advice of the fathers (senators), therefore, Romulus sent ambassadors to the neighboring states to ask for an alliance and the privilege of intermarriage for his new subjects. . . .

Nowhere did the embassy receive a favorable hearing, so much did the neighbors despise them; at the same time the surrounding nations feared, for themselves and their posterity, this mighty power which was growing up in their midst. The messengers were dismissed by the greater number of states with the repeated question, "Have you opened a place of refuge for women also? For such an institution only could obtain you suitable matches." The Roman youth resented this reply bitterly, and the matter began unquestionably to point to violence. To afford a favorable time and place for the use of force, Romulus, hiding his resentment, prepared games in honor of the equestrian Neptune. These games he called *Consualia*. He then gave orders that the show should be advertised among the neighbors. Meanwhile the Romans were preparing for the celebration with all the magnificence they were then acquainted with, that they might make the event famous. Great numbers, especially of the nearest neighbors, assembled from a desire to see the new city. Moreover the whole multitude of the Sabines came with their wives and children. They were hospitably received in the different houses; and when they had seen the location, the fortifications, and the city itself crowded with houses, they were astonished that the Roman power had increased so rapidly. The time of the show came, and while the minds and the eyes of the visitors were intent upon it, according to agreement a tumult arose, and at a given signal the Roman youth ran different ways to carry off the maidens by force. A great number were taken at haphazard, just as they fell into the hands of the Romans. . . .

Their neighbors refuse intermarriage.

(God of the sea, and of horses.)

The Sabine maidens are taken by force.

As the festival was broken up by this alarm, the parents of the young women retired in grief, complaining that the sacred law of hospitality had been trampled upon, and invoking the god to whose festival and games they had come, deceived by the pretence of religion and good faith.

Neither had the captive maidens better hopes or less indignation. But Romulus went personally about and declared that what was done was owing to the pride of their fathers, who had refused to grant the privilege of marriage to their neighbors. "The young women, however," he continued, "shall be joined in lawful wedlock; they shall participate in all the property and in the civil privileges of their husbands and in their common children — a possession most dear to the human heart." He begged them to calm their fierce anger, and cheerfully yield their affections to those to whom fortune had given their persons. "From injuries," he explained, "love and friendship often arise; and you will find us kinder husbands for this reason, that each of us will endeavor to the utmost of our power to make up for the want of your parents and native country." To this plea the caresses of the husbands were added, excusing what they had done on the ground of passion and love — arguments which work most successfully on women's hearts.

They become the wives of the captors.

Tarpeia betrays the citadel.

(Between Rome and the neighboring states arose a fierce war, in the course of which Tarpeia, a Roman maiden, betrayed the Capitoline citadel to Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines.)

Tarpeia's grove, Tarpeia's shame I'll tell,
And all the tale how Jove's old fortress fell.
Wall'd round with ivy crags a wood there lay,
Where whispering leaves the murm'ring rills repay,
Silvanus' home — and from the sultry air
His pipe oft called the flocks to watering there.
But Tatius now had staked the fount around,
And ringed his camp for safety with a mound.
Where then was Rome what time the trumpet-swell
Awoke the echoes of Jove's rocky dell?
And Sabine arms were piled, and flags unfurl'd,
Where sits that senate now that rules the world?
Rome's only wall was hill, one lonely spring
The war-horse drank, where now's the Curian ring;
And with the pitcher poised upon her hair,
Tarpeia fill'd it oft for Vesta there.

(God of the forest.)

Propertius v. 4.

(The yard in which stood the curia, or senate-house.)

Ah! holy goddess, could one death alone
For false betrayal of thy hearth atone?
Oft Tatius on the plain the maid had seen,
His sword bright flashing to the helmet's sheen;
Had marked his regal port, his arms of gold,
And dropped the urn her hands forgot to hold.
Then would she chide the moon, whose harmless beam
Oft gave pretence for washing in the stream,
And buy with lily flowers the wood-nymphs' grace,
Lest Roman spear should mar her loved one's face.
Oft would she climb the hill at misty morn,
Her arms all bleeding, and with brambles torn,
And o'er her love in Jove's own house would wail,
To ears that ill could brook so foul a tale.
"Ah, watchful fires, dear tent where Tatius lies,
Ye Sabine arms, so beauteous to my eyes,
Would heaven I might with you a captive dwell,
Only to gaze on one I love so well!
Farewell to Rome; farewell Rome's mountain wall,
And Vesta's hearth dishonored by my fall!"

* * * * * * * *

It chanced that day completed stood the wall,
'Twas Pales' festival, and idlesse all, (Goddess of shepherds.)
The yearly holiday, where shepherds meet,
And store of rustic dainties chokes the street,
While staggering clowns through heaps of lighted hay
In drunken revel take their grimy way.

The guards at ease obey'd their chieftain's will,
The trumpet slept awhile, the lines were still.
Tarpeia marked the moment, met the foe,
With plighted word herself the path to show;
Slow up the slumb'ring hill they wound their way,
The slaughter'd watch-dog call'd them not to stay:
All, all was hushed in sleep, great Jove alone
Kept watchful sentry to avenge his own.
Her sleeping friends, her post betray'd had she,
And asked the marriage lot she claimed for fee;
But Tatius, grudging guilt's base guerdon, cried,
"Thus, thus, my queen, I wed thee to my side."
Crushed deep in piles of armor down she fell,
A dowry that beseem'd the traitress well.

The mount still bears Tarpeius' name, to be
A guerdon for its guard's calamity.

The treaty.

(In this way Tatius gained possession of the citadel; but when soon afterward his army met the Romans in battle in the valley afterward occupied by the Forum, the captive women threw themselves between the opposing forces and put an end to the war.)

Plutarch, *Romulus*, 19.

In conference it was decided that those women who chose to do so might continue to live with their husbands, free from all duties except the work of spinning wool; that the Romans and the Sabines should dwell together in the city; and that the city should be called Rome, after Romulus, but the Romans should be called Quirites after (Cures), the native city of Tatius; and that both kings should reign and command the army together.

Romulus ascends to heaven.

Romulus was dearer to the people than to the fathers (senators); but above all he was beloved by the soldiers.

Livy i. 15.

While he was holding an assembly of the people for reviewing his army, in the plain near the lake of Capra, suddenly a storm, arising with heavy thunder and lightning, enveloped the king in so dense a mist that it hid him from the assembly. After this he was no more seen on earth. . . . But while the state was still troubled with regret for the king . . . Proculus Julius came forward in the assembly and said, "Romulus, the father of this city, suddenly descending from heaven, appeared to me this morning at daybreak. While I stood in awe and religious dread, beseeching him to allow me to see him face to face, he said, 'Go tell the Romans that the gods so will that my Rome shall become the capital of the world. Therefore let them cultivate the art of war, and let them know and tell their children that no human power shall be able to withstand the Roman arms.' After saying this he ascended to heaven." It is surprising what credit was given to the man on making this announcement, and how much the regret of the common people and of the army for the loss of Romulus was calmed by the assurance of his immortality.

Ib. 16.

Many such improbable tales are related by story-tellers who assume that the earthly parts of our bodies are deified along with the spiritual parts. It is wicked and base to deny that virtue is a spiritual quality, but foolish to mix earthly with heavenly things. Let us believe with Pindar that — Plutarch, *Romulus*, 28.

> All human bodies yield to death's decree,
> The soul survives to all eternity.

It was in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign, that Romulus, they tell us, left the world. *Ib.* 29.

Numa Pompilius

Numa Pompilius belonged to a celebrated Sabine city named Cures, from which the united Romans and Sabines called themselves Quirites. He was the son of Pomponius, an honorable citizen, and was the youngest of four brothers. By a wonderful coincidence he was born on the very day on which Romulus founded Rome — the twenty-first of April. His naturally good disposition had been so educated by sorrow and philosophic studies that he rose superior not merely to commonplace vices, but even to the worship of brute force — so common among barbarians — and considered true courage to be the conquest of his own passions. **Character.** Plutarch, *Numa*, 3.

It was in Numa's fortieth year that envoys came from Rome to ask him to be king. . . . As he refused the offered crown, the Romans used every kind of entreaty to induce him to accept it, begging him not to plunge the state into civil war, for there was no other man whom all would agree to receive as their king. *Ib.* 5. *Ib.* 6.

When he had made up his mind, he sacrificed to the gods, and then started for Rome. The senate and people met him and showed great affection for him; the matrons greeted him, and there were sacrifices in the temples, and every one was as joyous as if he had received a kingdom instead of a king. *Ib.* 7.

His religious institutions.
Livy i. 19.

After Numa had been made king in this way, he set about founding anew, on the principles of law and morals, the city recently established by force of arms. When he saw that the spirit of the citizens, rendered savage by military life, could not be reconciled to those principles during the continuance of wars, he concluded that his fierce nation should be softened by the disuse of arms. At the foot of Argiletum, therefore, he erected a temple of Janus as an index of peace and war; when open, it should show that the state was engaged in war, and its closing should signify that all the neighboring nations were at peace with Rome. Twice only since the reign of Numa has this temple been closed.

(Argiletum, a piece of ground between the Quirinal and the Forum.)

He encourages agriculture.
Plutarch, *Numa*, 16.

Though the city possessed originally but a small territory, Romulus by conquest had greatly enlarged it. All this acquired land Numa distributed among the needy citizens, thereby removing from them the want which urged them to deeds of violence; and by turning the people's thoughts to husbandry, he caused them to grow more civilized as their land improved. No work makes people such passionate lovers of peace as that of a man who tills his own land; for he retains enough of the warlike spirit to fight fiercely in defence of his own property, but has lost all desire to wrong and spoil his neighbors. It was for this reason that Numa encouraged agriculture among the Romans as a spell to charm war away; and he loved the occupation more because of its influence on men's minds than because of the wealth it produced.

He organizes guilds.
Plutarch, *Numa*, 17.

He organized the people, according to their trades, in guilds of musicians, goldsmiths, builders, dyers, shoemakers, curriers, coppersmiths, and potters. All the other trades he united in one guild. He assigned to every guild its especial privileges, common to all the members, and ordained that each should have its own times of meeting and should worship its special patron god.

Next he turned his attention to the appointment of

priests, though he himself performed many sacred rites, especially those which now belong to the *flamen* (priest) of Jupiter.

He appoints priests.
Livy i. 20.

It is a crime for the flamen of Jupiter to ride horseback or to see the centuries under arms; for this reason he has rarely been elected consul. He is not permitted to take an oath; the ring he wears must be hollow and of open work. No fire may be carried from his house but the sacred fire. If a man enters that house bound, he must be unbound, and the bonds must be carried through the inner court up the roof and thrown into the street. The flamen has no knot about him, either on his cap, his girdle, or any other part. If a man who is about to be beaten with rods falls at his feet as a suppliant, the guilty one cannot be beaten that day without sacrilege. None but a freeman may cut a flamen's hair. He never touches or names a she-goat, raw flesh, hair, or beans. He must not clip the tendrils of the vine that climbs too high. The feet of the bed he sleeps in must be plastered with mud. He never quits it three consecutive nights, and no one else has the right to sleep therein. There must not be near the woodwork of his bed a box with sacred cakes in it. The parings of his nails and the cuttings of his hair are covered with earth at the foot of a fruit tree. For him all days are holy days. He is not allowed to go into the open air without the *apex* (conical cap); and even as to remaining bareheaded under his own roof, the pontiffs have only quite recently decided that he may do so.

The priest of Jupiter.
Aulus Gellius x. 15 (quoted from Fabius Pictor.)

Rome, pp. 22, 28; *Ancient History*, pp. 271, 274.

Numa also selected maidens for Vesta, to fill a priesthood derived from Alba and closely connected with the family of the founder of Rome. That they might be constant attendants in the temple, he appointed them salaries from the public treasury; and by requiring them to remain unmarried and to perform various religious rites, he made them sacred and venerable.

The Vestal virgins.
Livy i. 20.

He ordained that the Vestal virgins should continue

Plutarch, *Numa* 10.

unmarried thirty years; during the first ten years they were to learn their duties, during the next ten they were to perform them, and during the last they were to teach others. After this period any of them who wished might marry and cease to be priestesses; but it is said that very few took advantage of this privilege and that those few were not happy. By their regrets and sorrow for the life they had left, they made the others scruple to leave it and prefer to remain maidens till their death.

The worship of the dead.

Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 533 ff.

(The festival to the dead was celebrated on February 19. Styx, the river which bounds the world of the dead.)

Honor is paid also to the graves of the dead. Appease the spirits of your forefathers, and offer small presents to the pyres that have long been cold. The shades of the dead ask but humble offerings: affection rather than costly gifts pleases them; Styx below has no greedy divinities. Enough for them is the covering of their tomb overshadowed with the chaplets laid there, and the scattered fruits and the little grain of salt, and corn soaked in wine, and violets loosened from the stem; let these gifts be placed in a jar in the middle of the way. I do not forbid more costly offerings, but by these mentioned the shade may be appeased. After erecting the altars, add prayers and suitable words.

This custom Æneas, an apt teacher of the duties of affection, introduced into thy lands, just Latinus. He used to offer the annual gifts to the spirit of his father; hence the adjoining nations learned the affectionate ceremony. But at one time when they were engaged in a long war, with contentious arms, they neglected the Parental days. It was not with impunity that they did so; for from that ill omen, Rome felt the heat of the funeral fires in the suburbs. For my part I scarcely can believe it, but it is said that their deceased forefathers came forth from their tombs, and uttered their complaints in the hours of the still night. And they say that appalling ghosts, a phantom crowd, howled through the city and the fields of Latium. Afterward the omitted honors were paid at

(Because the deaths were so numerous.)

the graves, and there came an end of these portentous sights and of the deaths as well.

"Let none then marry."

But while they are celebrating these rites, remain unwedded, ye maidens; let the torch of pine wood await auspicious days. And let not the curved spear part thy virgin ringlets, thou maiden who appearest to thy impatient mother already of marriageable years. Conceal thy torches, Hymenæus, and remove them afar from these dismal fires, — the gloomy tombs have other torches than these. Let the gods, too, be concealed, with the doors of their temples closed; be the fires without incense, and let the hearths stand without fire. Abroad now wander phantom spirits, and bodies that have been committed to the tombs. Now the ghost feeds on the food left for it. . . .

(The pine torch was carried in the marriage procession. The parting of the hair with a spear was a marriage ceremony. Hymenæus was the god of marriage.)

The Caristia.

The kinsfolk, full of affection, have named the next day the *Caristia*, and the company of relatives assemble at the family feast. In good truth it is a pleasant thing to turn our attention from the tombs and from our relatives who are dead, to those who survive; and after so many are lost, to see all that remains of our family, and to reckon the degrees of relationship. . . .

The festival of the corner-stones.

When the night has passed away, then let the god who by his landmark divides the fields be worshipped with the accustomed honors. Terminus, whether thou art a stone, or whether a stock sunk deep in the earth by the ancients, yet even in this form dost thou possess divinity. Thee the two owners of adjoining fields crown with chaplets from their opposite sides, and present with two garlands and two cakes. They build an altar; the peasant's wife brings in a broken pan the fire taken from the burning hearth.

An old man cuts up the firewood, and piles it high when chopped, and strives hard to drive the branches into the resisting ground. While he is exciting the kindling blaze with dried bark, a boy stands by and holds in his hands a broad basket. Out of this, when the father has thrice

thrown the produce of the earth into the midst of the flames, his little daughter offers the sliced honeycombs. Others have wine; a portion of each thing is thrown into the fire; the crowd, all arrayed in white, look on and keep a religious silence. Terminus is sprinkled, too, with the blood of a slain lamb; he makes no complaint when a young pig is offered him. The neighbors meet in supplication, and they celebrate the feast and sing thy praise, holy Terminus. It is thou that dost set the limits to nations, and cities, and mighty kingdoms; without thee the whole country would be steeped in litigation.

Peace and happiness.
Plutarch, *Numa*, 20.

Not only was the spirit of the Romans subdued and pacified by the gentle and just character of their king, but even the neighboring cities, as if some soothing, healthful air was breathed over them from Rome, altered their habits, and longed to live quiet and well-governed lives, cultivating the earth, bringing up their families in peace, and worshipping the gods. Gay festivals and entertainments, during which the people of various states fearlessly mixed with one another, prevailed throughout Italy; for Numa's knowledge of all that was good and noble was shed abroad like water from a fountain, and the atmosphere of holy calm by which he was surrounded spread over all men. The very poets when they spoke of that peaceful time were unable to find fitting expressions for it, as one writes —

> Across the shields are cobwebs laid,
> Rust eats the lance and keen-edged blade;
> No more we hear the trumpet's bray,
> And from our eyes no more is slumber chased away.

Ib. 21.
(Piso, an annalist of the time of the Gracchi.)

We are told by Piso that Numa died, not by a sudden death but by slow decay from sheer old age, after living a little more than eighty years.

Tullus Hostilius

Election. Dionysius iii. 1.

After the death of Numa Pompilius the senate, invested with the whole power of the state, resolved to retain the same form of government (the kingship); and as the people did not oppose their resolution, they appointed some of the oldest senators to govern, as *interreges*, each for a certain number of days. Under them, according to the unanimous wish of the people, Tullus Hostilius was chosen king. . . .

Rome, p. 26; *Ancient History*, p. 273.

He gives lands to the needy.

Immediately upon his accession he gained the hearts of the lowest and poorest class of the people by a most magnificent deed. The kings who had ruled before him possessed extensive and fertile lands. The revenues from them not only supplied the kings with victims for sacrifices, but plentifully furnished their table. These lands Romulus had won by conquest and had expelled the former owners. As he died without children, Numa Pompilius, his successor, had enjoyed the estates. They were no longer public property but the domains of the king. These lands Tullus caused to be divided equally among such of the Romans as had none; for he said that his own patrimony was sufficient both for the sacrifices and for the expense of his table. By this act of humanity he relieved the poorer class and freed them from the necessity of being servants to others. And that none might want a dwelling-place, he added to the city the Cælian Hill, on which those Romans who lacked dwellings had as much ground allotted to them as they needed. There they built houses; and he himself fixed his abode in that place.

His war with Alba Longa. Livy i. 22.

Tullus was not only unlike the preceding king, but was of a more warlike disposition than even Romulus had been. . . . Thinking therefore that the state was growing weak through quiet, he everywhere sought pretexts for stirring up war. It happened that some Roman and Alban peasants had plundered each other's lands. . . . From both sides ambassadors were sent almost at the same time to

demand restitution. Tullus ordered his agents to attend to nothing before their instructions. He knew well that the Albans would refuse, and that for this reason war might be proclaimed on just grounds.

The character of the war.

Livy i. 23.

Both sides prepared for the struggle with the utmost vigor. It was very like a civil war — almost a war between parents and children, as both were Trojan offspring. For from Troy came Lavinium, from Lavinium Alba, and the Romans were descended from the line of Alban kings. The result of the war, however, rendered the quarrel less distressing, for no battle took place; but merely after the houses of one of the cities had been torn down, the two states were incorporated into one.

The champions.

Livy i. 24.

It happened that there were in each of the two armies three brothers born at one birth, equal in age and in strength. That they were called Horatii and Curiatii is certain; nor is there any ancient event more celebrated. Yet in a matter so well known a doubt lingers as to which nation the Horatii and to which the Curiatii belonged. Authors claim them for both sides; yet I find more who call the Horatii Romans. My inclination leads me to follow them. Conferring with the three brothers, the kings bade them fight with their swords, each for his own country, telling them that dominion would be on that side with which victory should rest. As they did not refuse, the time and the place were agreed upon. Before they engaged, a treaty was made between the Romans and the Albans on these conditions, that the state whose champions should win the combat was to rule the other without further dispute.

The contest.

Livy i. 25.

After the conclusion of the treaty the brothers, as had been agreed, took arms. To encourage them, their respective friends reminded them that their country's gods, their fatherland, and parents, all their countrymen both at home and in the army, had their eyes then fixed on the arms and the hands of the champions. Meanwhile the

brothers, naturally brave and animated by the encouragements of their friends, were advancing into the space between the two lines. The armies sat down before their camps, free rather from present danger than from anxiety; for the sovereign power depended on the valor and fortune of these few champions. Eager and anxious, therefore, they riveted their attention upon a sight by no means pleasing. The signal was given, and the three youths on each side as in battle array rushed furiously to the charge, bearing in their hearts the spirits of mighty armies. None regarded his personal danger, for all had in mind the dominion or slavery of the state and the fortune of their country, which was destined thereafter to be such as they should now make it.

As soon as their arms clashed on the first encounter, and their burnished swords glittered, great fear struck the spectators; and as hope inclined to neither side, the voice and breath were suspended. When the champions engaged hand to hand, not only the motions of their bodies, the rapid darting of missiles and the sword thrusts, but wounds also and blood were seen. Two of the Romans fell lifeless, one upon the other, and the three Albans were wounded. When the Alban army raised a shout of joy at the fall of their foemen, hope deserted the Roman legions, but not anxiety, as they were alarmed for the lot of the one whom the three Curiatii threatened.

He chanced to be unhurt, so that, though alone he was no match for them all together, he was confident against each singly. In order therefore to separate their attack, he took to flight, presuming that they would pursue him with such swiftness as their wounded bodies should permit. He had fled some distance from the place of combat, when on looking round he saw them chasing him at wide intervals from one another, and one of them not far behind. On the nearest one he turned with great

fury; and while the Alban army was shouting to the Curiatii to assist their brother, Horatius after slaying his foe proceeded victorious to a second attack. The astonished Romans encouraged their champion with a shout, while he hastened to end the struggle. Before the third Curiatius could reach him, though near at hand, Horatius despatched the second.

In this way the contest was reduced to an equality of numbers, one to each side; but they were equal neither in hope nor in strength. The one unhurt drew from his double victory courage for a third contest; the other, dragging along his body, weary with the wound and with running, and dispirited by the slaughter of his brothers before his eyes, presented himself to his victorious foe. There was no fight. Exultingly the Roman said, "Two I have offered to the shades of my brothers; the third I will grant to the cause of this war, that the Roman may rule over the Alban." He thrust his sword into the throat of his foe, who was with difficulty sustaining the weight of his armor. The victor stripped the enemy as he lay prostrate. The Romans then received Horatius with applause and congratulations; they were all the more delighted because success had followed so close upon fear. (Alba Longa was then destroyed and the inhabitants were removed to Rome and made citizens.)

The growth of Rome.

Livy i. 30.

Meanwhile Rome was enlarged by the destruction of Alba. The number of citizens was doubled; the Cælian Mount was annexed to the city; and in order that it might be more thickly peopled, Tullus chose that quarter for his palace and there took up his abode. The leading Albans he enrolled among the fathers (senators). . . . And as a consecrated place of meeting for that body thus increased by him, he built the senate-house which down to the age of our fathers was called Hostilia. And that every rank might acquire some additional strength from the new people, he formed ten troops of horsemen from

among the Albans; he likewise recruited the old legions and added new ones.

Tullus reigned two and thirty years with great military renown. *Ib.* 31.

Ancus Marcius

Election. On the death of Tullus the government devolved once more upon the senate, which nominated an interrex. Under his presidency the people in their *comitia* (assembly) elected Ancus Marcius king, and their choice was sanctioned by the fathers. . . . The genius of Ancus was of a middle kind, partaking of that of Numa and of Romulus. Livy i. 32.

His achievements. After committing the care of religion to the priests, he set out with a new army which he had levied, and took Politorium, a city of the Latins. Following the example of former kings, who had increased the Roman state by giving conquered enemies the citizenship, he removed all the people to Rome. Livy i. 33.

Such accessions of citizens increased the state; but in so great a multitude crimes were secretly committed. The king therefore built a prison in the heart of the city, overlooking the Forum, to intimidate lawless persons. And not only did the city increase in population under this king, but the territory also grew in area and the boundaries were extended. He took the Mesian forest from the people of Veii, and extended the Roman dominion to the sea. The city of Ostia he built at the mouth of the Tiber.

Ancus reigned twenty-four years, equal to any of the former kings in the arts and renown of war and peace. *Ib.* i. 35.

Lucius Tarquinius Priscus

Election. After the death of Ancus Marcius the senate, empowered by the people to establish whatever form of government it thought fit, again resolved to continue the kingship, and appointed interreges (one after another). Under the presi- Dionysius iii. 47.

dency of one of these magistrates, the people in their assembly chose Lucius Tarquinius king.

He enlarges the senate.
Livy i. 35.

The same ambition which had prompted Tarquin, in other respects an excellent man, to aspire to the crown, followed him during his reign. No less mindful of strengthening his own power than of increasing that of the state, he elected a hundred into the senate. From that time the new senators, called "fathers of the lesser *gentes*," formed a party zealous in the king's cause, for by his favor they had entered the senate.

(He then waged war against the Sabines and the Latins, and gained famous victories over both these nations.)

His public works.
Livy i. 38.

The works of peace he set about with greater spirit even than he had shown in war. Hence the people enjoyed no more ease and quiet at home than they had in their campaigns abroad; for he began to surround the city with a stone wall. . . . Improving at the same time the lower parts of the city round the Forum and among the hills, — the valleys did not easily carry off the water because of their flatness, — he drained this region by means of sewers drawn sloping downward to the Tiber.

Servius Tullius.
Livy i. 39.

At that time a prodigy happened in the palace — a wonderful event both in appearance and in its result. They say that the head of a (slave) boy named Servius Tullius, who lay fast asleep, blazed with fire in the sight of many persons. The great noise made at so wonderful an event awakened the royal family, but when one of the servants was bringing water to put out the flame, the queen prevented him. After the confusion was over, she gave orders that the boy was not to be disturbed till he should awake of his own accord. As soon as he awoke, the flame disappeared. Then Tanaquil (the queen), taking her husband apart, said, "Do you see this boy whom we are bringing up in so mean a style? Be assured that hereafter he will be a light to us in our misfortune and a protector to our palace in distress. Henceforth let us with all care train up this youth, who

is capable of becoming a great ornament to the state and to society."

From this time they treated the boy as their own son, and instructed him in those arts which qualify men for high rank. His education was easy because it was agreeable to the gods. The young man proved to be of a truly royal disposition, and when they sought a son-in-law, they could find no Roman youth equal to him in any accomplishment. Therefore the king betrothed his own daughter to Servius.

Tarquin is killed.
Livy i. 40.
Dionysius iii. 73.

About the thirty-eighth year of Tarquin's reign, Servius Tullius was in the highest esteem not only with the king but also with the senate and people. . . . At this time the king, now an aged man, lost his life through the treason of the sons of Ancus Marcius.

Servius Tullius

King without election.
Livy i. 41.

When the death became known to the public and mourning began in the palace, Servius, supported by a strong guard, took possession of the kingdom with the consent of the fathers, the first to become king without an order from the people.

His daughters.
Livy i. 42.

Servius now began to strengthen his power by private as well as by public measures. That the feelings of Tarquin's sons might not be the same toward him as had been those of the children of Ancus toward the preceding king, he gave his two daughters in marriage to the young Tarquin princes, Lucius and Aruns. These human plans, however, did not break the inflexible power of fate, so as to prevent envy of the kingship from exciting treachery and hatred in his own household.

In such a state of affairs it was fortunate for the family that war with Veii and with the rest of Etruria broke out. In that struggle the valor and the good fortune of Tullius became evident, and after routing a great army of the enemy, he returned to Rome unquestionably king, whether he tried the loyalty of the fathers or of the people.

The census.

He then set about a peaceful work of the utmost importance, that as Numa had been the author of religious institutions, posterity might celebrate Servius as the founder of all distinctions among the members of the state, and of those classes which are based on dignity and fortune. For he instituted the census, — a most salutary measure for an empire destined to become so great. According to the census the services of war and peace were to be performed not by every person without distinction, but in proportion to his amount of property. By means of the census he formed the classes and the centuries, — an arrangement which still exists and which is eminently suited both to peace and to war.

The census classes.

Livy i. 43. (In the third century B.C. the *as*, a copper coin, was worth nearly two cents; in earlier times its value was greater. Probably the classification was at first based on land.)

Of those who had an estate worth a hundred thousand asses or more he made eighty centuries, forty of seniors and forty of juniors. All these centuries constituted the first class. The seniors were to guard the city, the juniors to carry on war in the field. Their arms were a helmet, a round shield, greaves, and a corselet — all of bronze. This armor was for defence. Their offensive weapons were a spear and a sword. To the first class were added two centuries of mechanics, who were to serve without arms. Their duty was to convey the military engines.

The second class included all whose estates were worth from seventy-five to a hundred thousand asses. From the seniors and juniors of this class twenty centuries in all were enrolled. They carried a buckler instead of a shield, and had no corselet. With these exceptions their arms were the same as those of the first class. The property of the third class amounted to fifty thousand asses (at the lowest); the number of the centuries was the same as of the second class with the same distinction of age. Their arms, too, were the same excepting that they wore no greaves. The fourth class, including all whose property was rated at twenty-five thousand asses (at the lowest), furnished the same number of centuries; but they had no arms excepting a spear

and a long javelin. The fifth class included thirty centuries, who carried slings and stones for throwing. Among them were counted three centuries of horn-blowers and trumpeters. The property of the class was rated at eleven thousand asses (at the lowest). All below this rating formed one century exempt from military service.

(Livy is confused as to the numbers; cf. *Rome* pp. 34, 70.)

After dividing and arming the infantry in this way, he levied twelve centuries of knights from among the chief men of the state. And of the three centuries instituted by Romulus he made six without changing their names.[1] Ten thousand asses from the public revenue were given the knights for buying horses; and widows were taxed two thousand asses yearly for the support of the horses. All these burdens were taken off the poor and laid on the rich.

The cavalry. (In fact the number was doubled, and long afterward twelve were added; *Rome*, pp. 34, 70.)

Then an additional honor was added; the right to vote was not given to all alike, according to the custom established by Romulus, and followed by succeeding kings, of granting to every man the same right; but degrees of privilege were made, so that no one might seem to be excluded from the right of voting, and yet the whole power might reside in the chief men of the state. For the knights were first called, and then the eighty centuries of the first class; and if they happened to differ, which was rarely the case, those of the second were called, and the voting seldom descended to the lowest class.

The assembly of the centuries (*comitia centuriata*).

Next he divided the city into four parts according to the regions and hills then inhabited, and he called these divisions tribes, as I think from the tribute; for he introduced also the method of levying taxes according to the value of estates.

The city tribes. (At the same time he probably divided the country, too, into tribes.)

The taking of the census he hastened by the terror of a law which threatened with imprisonment and death those who did not present themselves to be rated. He then proclaimed that all the Roman citizens, horse and foot, should attend at the dawn of day in the Campus Martius, each in

The growing population.

Livy i. 44.

[1] The three original centuries were distinguished from the three afterward added by the terms "earlier" and "later."

P. 3.

his century. . . . Eighty thousand citizens are said to have been rated in that survey. Fabius Pictor, the earliest of our historians, adds that such was the number of those who were able to bear arms. This multitude made necessary the enlargement of the city. Servius, accordingly, added two hills, the Quirinal and the Viminal. . . . The whole city he surrounded with an earthen rampart, a moat, and a wall.

Election of Servius.

Livy i. 46.

By long possession Servius had now acquired a firm hold on the kingdom; but as the young Tarquin kept hinting at the fact that Servius held the crown without the consent of the people, the ruler first secured their good will by dividing among them man by man the lands taken from their enemies, and then proposed to the people the question whether they chose and ordered that he should be king. Thereupon he was declared king with greater unanimity than had attended the election of any ruler before him. But this circumstance did not diminish Tarquin's hope of obtaining the throne.

Tarquin seizes the royal power.

Livy i. 47.

As soon as the time seemed convenient for accomplishing his object, Tarquin rushed into the Forum, accompanied by a party of armed men; then while all were struck with dismay, he seated himself on the throne before the senate-house, and ordered the fathers to be summoned by the herald to attend King Tarquin. They gathered immediately, some already prepared for the occasion, others through fear lest their absence might bring them harm. They were astonished at the strange and sudden event, and considered that it was now all over with Servius.

Servius is killed.

Livy i. 48.

Then Tarquin, who was far younger than the king, seized him, and dragging him from the senate-house, threw him down the steps to the ground. Returning into the house, he called the senate to order. The king's officers and attendants fled. Servius himself, almost lifeless, set out for home with his terrified followers. As he came to the top of Cyprian Street, the agents of Tarquin overtook him in his flight and killed him. . . .

Tullius reigned forty-four years so well that even a good successor would have found it hard to rival him. But his glory is the greater from the fact that with him perished all just and constitutional rule.

Lucius Tarquinius Superbus ("The Proud")

Character. Livy i. 49.

Now began the reign of the Tarquin whose conduct won for him the surname of "The Proud"; for he refused his father-in-law a burial, alleging that even Romulus received no funeral. He put to death the principal senators, whom he suspected of having sided with Servius. . . .

As the number of the fathers decreased in this way, he determined to elect none into the senate that the members might be despised because they were so few, and that they might feel less angry because no business came before them. For he was the first to violate the custom of consulting the senate on all matters — a rule handed down by former kings. Advice on public affairs he sought within his own family.

His ability in war. Livy i. 53.

Though a tyrannical prince in time of peace, Tarquin was by no means a poor general; nay he would have equalled the other kings in the art of war, had not his depravity in other matters cast a shadow over his military glory. He began against the Volscians the war which was to last two hundred years; and he took from them Suessa Pometia by storm. As the sale of the spoil brought him forty talents of silver, he planned a magnificent temple to Jupiter, which should be worthy of the king of the gods and men, of the Roman empire, and of the majesty of the place on which it was to be built.

His temple to Jupiter. Livy i. 55.

And that the area might be devoted solely to Jupiter and his temple, to the exclusion of other worships, he resolved to unhallow several small shrines which had been vowed first by King Tatius in the heat of battle against Romulus, and which the same king afterward built and dedicated. In the beginning of this work the gods are said to have revealed

the future greatness of the empire; for though the birds declared in favor of unhallowing all the other temples, they did not permit it in the case of the shrine of Terminus. The fact that among the gods of this area Terminus alone would not change his abode foretold the duration and stability of the empire.

(God of boundaries; p. 43.)

Livy i. 56.

Intent on finishing this temple, Tarquin sent for workmen from all parts of Etruria, and employed on it not only public money but the labor of the plebeians. And though this toil, by no means light, was added to their military service, they murmured little at building the temples of the gods with their own hands; but they were afterward transferred to other works, which though less showy imposed greater toil. As a part of this new labor they erected benches in the Circus (Maximus), and made under ground the Cloaca Maxima — two public works which the splendor of modern times can scarcely rival.

The Capitoline temple, built on a high rock, was eight hundred feet in circuit, about two hundred to each side. It had three rows of columns in the south front, with two on each side. The building was divided into three temples parallel with one another. The middle temple was dedicated to Jupiter, the others to Juno and Minerva. All three had one pediment and one roof.

Dionysius iv. 61 (abridged).

Lucretia.

Livy i. 57.

(Some time afterward while the Romans were besieging Ardea, a neighboring city,) the young princes occasionally spent their leisure in feasting and entertainments. Once when they were drinking in the tent of Sextus Tarquinius, where Collatinus Tarquinius, son of Egerius, was also at supper, mention was made of their wives. Thereupon every one extravagantly praised his own wife; and when all fell to disputing, Collatinus said, "There is no need of words; we may know in a few hours how far my Lucretia excels all the rest. If we have any youthful strength, let us mount our horses and look into the conduct of our wives. Let each wife's character be tested by the scene which first meets the

eye of the husband when he comes home unexpectedly. Warmed with wine, they all said, "Come on!" and galloped to Rome, where they arrived in the dusk of the evening. Thence they went to Collatia, where they found Lucretia, not like the king's daughters-in-law, whom they had seen spending their time with friends in luxurious feasts, but busy with her wool, though late at night, sitting among her maids, who were at work around her. The award in the contest regarding the ladies fell to Lucretia. She kindly received her husband and the Tarquins on their arrival; and Collatinus politely entertained the princes. There a villainous desire to wrong Lucretia seized Sextus Tarquinius.

Lucius Junius Brutus.

Cicero, *Republic*, ii. 25.

When therefore the king's eldest son had wronged the honor of Lucretia, wife of Collatinus, and this chaste and noble lady had stabbed herself to death on account of the injury she could not survive, Lucius Junius Brutus, a man of eminent genius and worth, dashed from his fellow-citizens the unjust yoke of servitude. Of royal ancestry, though in a private station, he alone upheld the commonwealth; he was the first in Rome to assert that no one should remain a private citizen when the preservation of our liberties is concerned. Under his authority and command our city rose against tyranny, and stirred by the recent grief of Lucretia's father and kinsmen, and by the recollection of King Tarquin's cruelty, and of the countless crimes of this tyrant and his sons, they pronounced sentence of banishment against him and his children, and the whole race of the Tarquins.

End of the kingship.

Livy i. 60. (In the absence of the king, the city was ruled by a "prefect.")

Lucius Tarquinius, the Proud, reigned twenty-five years; the regal form of government extended from the building of the city to its deliverance, two hundred and forty-five years. Two consuls, Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, were elected in the *comitia centuriata* under the prefect of the city, as prescribed by the commentaries of Servius Tullius.

STUDIES

1. Describe from the maps (*Rome*, pp. 35, 41; *Ancient History*, pp. 278, 283) the location of Rome, Palatine Mount, Circus (Maximus), Aventine Mount, the Sabines, the Forum, Cures, Lavinium, and Ostia.

2. Why did the Romans wish to connect their origin as closely as possible with the Greeks (*Rome*, p. 18)? Tell the story of the siege of Troy (*Ancient History*, p. 59 f.). Who was Æneas (*Rome*, p. 17; *Ancient History*, p. 265)?

3. In the myth of Romulus and Remus, why did the people imagine that a wolf and a woodpecker cared for these twins? At the time when Romulus and Remus were supposed to be children, were the Latins yet acquainted with the alphabet? Describe the life of the herdsmen. Why was the "hut of Romulus" kept holy?

4. Tell the myth of the founding of Rome. Was Rome in fact a colony of Alba Longa (*Rome*, pp. 6, 19; *Ancient History*, p. 258)? Describe augury. What may we learn from the story of the vultures?

5. Give an account of the Pythian oracle (*Greece*, pp. 99–101; *Ancient History*, pp. 74–76). How does the story of the "sacred refuge" illustrate the liberality of Rome in her treatment of strangers? In your further reading notice all the instances of the same liberality. How did this policy of the Romans benefit their state (cf. p. 33)?

6. Though all the persons and events mentioned in this chapter are mythical, the manners, customs, and institutions are historical. With this principle in mind, read carefully the story of the kingship of Romulus, separate the history from the fiction, and put together your results in a short paper on the Government of Rome under the Kings.

7. Describe the power of the father in early Rome. What were the advantages and disadvantages of this strict family discipline?

8. Tell the story of the Sabine women. What is the historical meaning of this tale (*Rome*, p. 19)? In the belief of the Romans, what became of Romulus? What does Plutarch think of this belief?

9. From the account of the reign of Numa write a brief paper on the Religion of Early Rome (cf. 6). Include the religious institutions attributed to Romulus.

10. What was the condition of agriculture and of the industries under the kings?

11. Compare the fight between the champions of Rome and Alba Longa with a similar contest between Lacedæmon and Argos (*Greece*, p. 78; *Ancient History*, p. 104). What do you think of this method of settling difficulties between states?

12. Which of the kings admitted foreigners liberally to the citizenship? Was this a good policy? Collect all the instances of the dis-

tribution of land by the kings. How did Rome acquire land, and how did she dispose of it?

13. What historical truth may we find in the myth of Ancus Marcius?

14. Describe the public works of the Tarquins and Servius Tullius.

15. Is it remarkable that a slave by birth should become king of Rome, as the myth of Servius Tullius represents? What social condition of Rome does this story indicate? Why does Livy consider Servius the last "constitutional" king (cf. p. 55)?

16. Describe the five census classes. What was the relation between the army of Servius and the comitia centuriata (*Rome*, pp. 34, 69; *Ancient History*, pp. 276, 298)? Compare the tribes of Servius with the three original tribes.

17. In the myth of Tarquin the Proud, what are given as the causes of the overthrow of monarchy?

18. What may we gather from Livy as to his idea of an "excellent man" (cf. p. 50)?

CHAPTER III

Rome becomes Supreme in Italy

First Period of the Republic — External History (509–264 B.C.)

CARTHAGE, ETRURIA, AND LATIUM

First treaty between Rome and Carthage, 509 B.C.

Polybius iii. 22.

The first treaty between Rome and Carthage was made in the year of Lucius Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius, the first consuls elected after the expulsion of the kings. Of this treaty I append a translation as accurate as I could make it, for the fact is that the ancient language differs so much from that at present in use that the best scholars among the Romans themselves have great difficulty in interpreting some points in the document.

(The early date of this treaty has been questioned, yet without sufficient grounds. Fair Promontory is on the northern coast of Africa, near Carthage.)

"Between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians and their allies, there shall be peace and alliance upon the following terms: —

"Neither the Romans nor their allies shall sail beyond the Fair Promontory, unless driven by bad weather or by an enemy. And in case any one of them be driven ashore, he shall not buy or take aught for himself save what is needful for the repair of his ship and the service of the gods, and he shall depart within five days.

"Merchants landing for traffic in Sardinia or in Libya shall strike no bargain except in the presence of a herald or a town clerk; and the credit of the state shall be a security to the merchant for whatever he shall sell in the presence of this officer.

"If any Roman lands in the Carthaginian province in Sicily, he shall enjoy all the rights enjoyed by others.

"The Carthaginians, on the other hand, shall do no injury to the people of Antium, Laurentum, Circeii, Tarracina, or any other people of the Latins who are subject to Rome. Nor shall they possess themselves of any town of the Latins which is not subject to Rome. If they take one of these towns, they shall deliver it unharmed to the Romans.

"The Carthaginians shall build no fort in Latium; and if they land an armed force there, they shall depart before night."

Tarquins and Lars Porsena. Livy ii. 9.

By this time the Tarquins had fled to Lars Porsena, king of Clusium. There, mingling advice with entreaty, they sometimes besought him not to suffer them, who were descended from the Etruscans and of the same blood and name, to live in exile and poverty; and at other times they advised him not to let this new practice of expelling kings pass unpunished. "Liberty has charms enough in itself," they said, "and unless kings defend their own crowns with as much vigor as the people pursue their liberty, the highest must be reduced to a level with the lowest. Nothing will be exalted above the rest; and hence there must be an end of kingly rule, the most beautiful institution among gods and men."

Porsena, thinking it would be an honor to the Etruscans that there should be a king at Rome, and especially one of the Etruscan nation, marched to war against Rome. Never before did so great a terror seize the senate, so powerful was the state of Clusium and so great the renown of Porsena.

Horatius at the bridge. (A wooden bridge over the Tiber.) Livy ii. 10.

Some parts of the city seemed secured by the walls, others by the Tiber. The Sublician bridge, however, well-nigh afforded a passage to the enemy, had there not been one man, Horatius Cocles, who happened to be posted on guard at the bridge. When he saw the Janiculum taken by a sudden assault, and the enemy pouring down from thence at full speed, and his own party in terror and confusion abandoning

their arms and ranks, he laid hold of them one by one, stood in their way, and appealed to the faith of gods and men, saying, "Your flight will avail you nothing if you desert your posts; for if the enemy pass the bridge and leave it behind them, there will soon be more foes on the Palatine and Capitoline hills than there are now on the Janiculum. I advise and charge you, therefore, to demolish the bridge by sword, by fire, by any means whatever, while I stand the shock of the enemy as far as one man can do."

He then advanced to the farther entrance of the bridge, and separating himself from those who showed their backs in retreat, he faced about to engage the foe hand to hand. His surprising bravery terrified the enemy. Two other men a sense of shame kept with him, — Spurius Lartius and Titus Herminius, men of eminent birth and gallant deeds. For a short time they three withstood the storm of danger and the severest brunt of the battle. But as those who were destroying the bridge called on the champions to retire, Horatius bade his companions withdraw to a place of safety on a small portion of the bridge still left. Then casting his stern, threatening eyes round all the Etruscan officers, he sometimes challenged them singly, sometimes reproached them all as slaves of haughty tyrants, who, regardless of their own freedom, had come to overthrow the liberty of others. Hesitating long, they waited for one another to begin the fight. Shame at length moved the army; and raising a shout, they hurled their missiles from all sides upon their single foe. As the darts stuck in his shield, he no less firmly held the bridge. Finally they tried to push him down from it, when suddenly the crash of the falling bridge, together with the joyous shout of the Romans, instantly changed the foemen's ardor into panic. Horatius exclaimed, "Holy father Tiber, I pray that thou mayest receive these arms and this thy soldier in thy propitious stream," and armed as he was, he leaped into the Tiber and amid showers of darts hurled on him, swam safe across to his party.

Porsena then agreed to withdraw from the Janiculum on condition that the Romans should restore the lands they had taken from Veii, and give hostages. After concluding peace on these terms, he withdrew his troops from the Janiculum, and retired from the Roman country. Livy ii. 13.

(Tarquin next sought aid of the Latins, who tried to restore him, but were disastrously beaten at Lake Regillus. Thereupon Tarquin took refuge at Cumæ, where he soon died, and the Romans concluded with the Latins the following treaty :) **Treaty between Rome and the Latins, 493 B.C.**

"Let there be peace between the Romans and all the Latin cities as long as heaven and earth shall remain in their present position. Dionysius vi. 5.

"Let them neither make war upon one another themselves, nor bring in foreign enemies, nor grant a safe passage to those who shall make war upon either.

"Let them with all their forces assist one another when attacked by enemies, and let both have equal shares of the spoils and booty taken in their common wars.

"Let suits relating to private contracts be determined in ten days among that people among whom the contract was made.

"Let nothing be added to, or taken from, these treaties except by the joint consent of the Romans and all the Latins."

To ratify this treaty one of the consuls remained at Rome. The other, sent to the Volscian war, routed and put to flight the Volscians of Antium, and continuing his pursuit of them now that they were driven into Longula, he took the town. Next he captured Polusca, also Volscian ; then he attacked Corioli with all his force. Livy ii. 33.

Coriolanus

Among the young noblemen in the camp at that time was Gaius Marcius, a youth distinguished for intelligence and courage, who afterward was given the surname Coriolanus. **Gaius Marcius Coriolanus.**

When the Romans were besieging Corioli, and were wholly intent upon watching the besieged inhabitants with no fear of attack from without, a Volscian legion from Antium suddenly assailed them and at the same time the enemy sallied forth from the town. Marcius happened to be on guard. With a chosen band he not only repelled the attack of the inhabitants, but boldly rushed in through the open gate and cut down all in that part of the city. Then hastily seizing some fire, he threw it into the houses adjoining the wall. Thereupon the shouts of the townsmen, mingling with the wailings of the terrified women and children, increased the courage of the Romans and dispirited the Volscians, who saw the enemy in possession of the city they had come to save. In this way the Volscians of Antium were defeated, the town of Corioli was taken, and Marcius by his valor eclipsed the reputation of the consul in command.

His exile.

(Some time afterward Marcius, who was a patrician, was prosecuted by the leaders of the commons on the ground that he was attempting to deprive the people of their rights. He fled from Rome, and in his absence) was condemned by a majority of the tribes, and sentenced to perpetual banishment.

Plutarch, *Coriolanus*, 20.

Deciding at length to excite a cruel war against Rome, he proceeded at once to apply to the Volscians. . . . There was a certain citizen of Antium named Tullus Aufidius, who from his wealth, courage, and noble birth, was regarded as the most important man in the whole Volscian nation.

Ib. 21.

Ib. 22.

Marcius and Tullus held private conferences with the chief men of the Volscians, and advised them to begin the war while Rome was divided by its domestic quarrels. . . . By zealous exertions the entire Volscian nation was soon assembled under arms.

Ib. 26.

Ib. 28.

The affairs of Rome were in extreme disorder; for the people refused to fight; political quarrels took place and seditious speeches were made every day, till news came that the enemy were besieging Lavinium. This town contains

Ib. 29.

the most ancient images and sacred property of the guardian gods of Rome, and is the mother-city of the Roman people, the first settlement founded by Æneas.

The Romans try to appease him.
Livy ii. 39.

While the consuls at Rome were reviewing the legions, and posting guards along the walls and in other places where sentinels and guards were needed, a great crowd terrified them with seditious clamors for peace, and finally compelled them to call the senate to consider the question of sending deputies to Gaius Marcius. When it became evident that the spirit of the plebeians was failing, the senate took up the question and sent messengers to Gaius Marcius to treat for peace. They brought back this harsh reply: "If you restore the lands you have taken from the Volscians, you may then consider the question of peace; but if you are disposed to sit at ease enjoying the plunder of war, I who remember my unjust treatment at the hands of fellow-citizens, as well as the kindness of strangers, will do my best to prove that my spirit has been irritated but not crushed by exile." When the same persons were sent a second time, they were not admitted to the camp. It is recorded, too, that the priests in their sacred garb went as suppliants to the enemy's camp; and that they did not influence his mind more than did the deputies of the senate.

His mother and his wife.
Livy ii. 40.

Then the matrons gathered in a body round Veturia, the mother of Gaius Marcius, and his wife Volumnia — whether by public counsel or from the women's fear I cannot say. They carried their point that Veturia, an aged woman, and Volumnia with her little children, the sons of Marcius, should go to the camp of the enemy, and that the women should defend by their prayers and tears the city which the men could not protect with arms. When they reached the camp and were announced to Gaius Marcius . . . he sprang bewildered from his seat and offered to embrace his mother. But turning from entreaties to angry rebuke, she said, "Before I receive your embrace, let me know whether I have come to an enemy or to a son — whether I am in your camp a captive

or a mother. Has length of life and a wretched old age reserved me for this — to see you an exile and an enemy? Could you lay waste this land which gave you birth and nurtured you? Though you came enraged and vengeful, did not your anger cool when you entered its frontiers? When you came in sight of Rome, did it not occur to you that within those walls were your house and guardian gods, your mother, wife, and children? It is true then that had I not been a mother, Rome would not be besieged; had I no son, I might die free in a free country. But my suffering is your disgrace; and however wretched I may be, I shall not live long. Look to these others, on whom your stubbornness will bring untimely death or lasting slavery."

Then his wife and children embraced him; and the wailing of the women, as they bemoaned themselves and their country, at length overcame him. Embracing his family, he sent them away and removed his camp farther from the city. After withdrawing his troops from the Roman country, he lost his life, some say, through hatred roused by these events. Writers differ as to the manner of his death; but Fabius (Pictor), by far the most ancient historian, says that he lived to old age, and quotes from him this phrase, "Exile weighs more heavily on an aged man."

Veii

The siege of Veii, 405(?)–396 B.C.

(In the lifetime of Gaius Marcius the Volscians and the Æquians wrested nearly all Latium from Rome; but some years afterward the Romans began to make headway against these enemies. Before the end of the fifth century B.C. they had recovered Latium. They then began a war for the conquest of Veii, a powerful city of Etruria, not far from Rome.)

Plutarch, *Camillus*, 2.

Defeated in several great battles, the people of Veii had given up all plans of conquest, had built strong high walls, had filled their city with arms, provisions, and all kinds of

material of war, and were fearlessly enduring a siege, which was certainly long, but which became no less irksome and difficult to the besiegers.

The mystery of the Alban lake.

While the war was at its height, much alarm was caused by the strange thing seen at the Alban lake, which could not be accounted for by the laws of nature. The season was autumn, and the summer had not been remarkable for rain or for moist winds, so that many of the streams and marshes in Italy were quite dried up, and others barely held out, while the rivers, as is usual in summer, were very low and deeply sunk in their beds. But the Alban lake, which is self-contained, surrounded as it is by fertile hills, began for no reason except perhaps the will of heaven, to increase in volume and to encroach upon the hillsides near it, till it reached their very tops, rising quietly and without disturbance.

Plutarch, *Camillus*, 3.

At first the portent amazed only the shepherds of the neighborhood; but when the lake by weight of its waters broke through the thin neck of land which held it in, and poured down in a mighty stream through the fertile plains to the sea, then not only the Romans but all the people of Italy thought it a portent of the gravest character. Every one talked about it; and in the camp before Veii it was so much discussed that the besieged also learned what was happening at the lake.

There was an ancient oracle about the city of Veii, that it could not be taken until its enemies drove back the waters of the Alban lake, and prevented its joining the sea. When the senators heard this report, they were at a loss what to do, and determined to send an embassy to Delphi to inquire of the god. . . .

Ib. 4.

Greece, p. 99; *Ancient History*, p. 74.

After a prosperous journey the ambassadors returned with a reply from Apollo, which pointed to the neglect of certain ceremonies in the festival of the Latin games, and bade the Romans, if possible, force the waters of the Alban lake away from the sea into their ancient course, or if this could

(Celebrated by the Latins at Alba Longa; p. 20.)

not be done, to divide the stream by canals so as to expend it in the plain. When this answer came, the priests took the necessary steps about the sacrifices, while the people turned their attention to the diversion of the water.

The capture of Veii, 396 B.C.

Plutarch, *Camillus*, 5.

In the tenth year of the war the senate recalled all the rest of the generals and made Camillus dictator . . . who turned his attention to the siege of Veii; and perceiving that it would be a difficult matter to take the city by assault, he ordered mines to be dug; for the ground near the walls was easily worked, and the mines could be sunk to a sufficient depth for concealment from the besieged. As this work succeeded to his wish, he pretended an attack above ground to call the enemy to the wall and to distract their attention, while others made their way unperceived through the mine to the temple of Juno in the citadel, the largest and most sacred building in the city. Here the king of Veii chanced to be sacrificing. On inspecting the omens, the soothsayer cried out with a loud voice that the goddess would give the victory to whoever offered this victim. When the Romans in the mine heard these words, they quickly tore up the floor, and burst through it with shouts and rattling arms. The enemy fled in terror, while the invaders seized the victims and carried them to Camillus. This story, however, sounds rather fabulous.

The city was stormed and the Romans carried off an enormous amount of plunder. Camillus, who viewed his men from the citadel, at first stood weeping, but when congratulated by those who were with him, he raised his hands to heaven and said, "Great Jupiter, and all ye other gods who see all good and evil deeds alike, ye know it is not in unrighteous conquest, but in self-defence, that the Romans have taken this city from their lawless enemies. If there awaits us any reverse of fortune to counterbalance this good luck, I pray that it may fall, not upon the city or the army of Rome, but as lightly as may be upon my own head."

(The Romans had feared Veii because it was great and powerful; cf. p 66.)

When the leaders of the plebs introduced a resolution to distribute the territory of Veii among the citizens and to remove half the city to Veii, Camillus openly and without caring for popularity opposed the measure.

Camillus goes into exile.
Plutarch, *Camillus*, 11

The people were much excited against him, and it was clear that whatever the charge against him might be, they would condemn him. . . . But when his friends after consulting together informed him that they would not prevent his condemnation but would help pay his fine, he could not bear such treatment, and determined in a rage to leave Rome and go into exile.

Ib. 12.

He embraced his wife and son, and walked from his house silently as far as the gate of the city. There he turned back, and stretching out his hands toward the Capitol, he prayed to the gods that if he was driven from Rome unjustly by the insolence and hatred of the people, the Romans might soon repent of their conduct to him, and appear before the world begging him to return and longing for their Camillus back again.

The Gauls

Every Roman believes that the prayers of Camillus were quickly heard by Jupiter, and that a terrible retribution was exacted for his wrongs. (For it was while he was in exile that the Gauls came.)

The battle of the Allia, 390 B.C.
Plutarch, *Camillus*, 13.

The Romans marched about eleven miles from the city, and halted for the night on the banks of the Allia, a stream which joins the Tiber not far from where their camp was pitched. Here in an unskilful battle the want of discipline caused the ruin of the Romans. The Gauls drove the left wing into the river and destroyed it, but the right, which took refuge in the hills to avoid the enemy's charge on level ground, suffered less, and most of this division safely reached the city. Of the rest, those who survived after the enemy were weary with slaughter took refuge at Veii, imagining that all was over with Rome.

Ib. 18.

The Gauls sack Rome.

Plutarch, *Camillus*, 22.

On the third day after the battle Brennus (the Gallic chief) came at the head of his army to attack the city. Seeing the gates open and no guards on the walls, he at first feared some ambuscade, as he could not believe that the Romans had so utterly despaired of themselves. When he discovered the truth, he marched through the Colline Gate, and captured Rome a little more than three hundred and sixty years after its foundation, if we can believe that any accurate record has been kept of those earlier periods.

The siege of the Capitol.

Plutarch, *Camillus*, 27.

(First the barbarians plundered and burned the city, while the Romans held only the Capitoline Mount.) Encouraged by their chief, the Gauls eagerly volunteered an assault on the Capitol. About midnight many of them climbed silently up the rock, which although rough and precipitous was easier of ascent than they had imagined; so that the first of them reached the top, and were on the point of attacking the rampart and its sleeping garrison, for neither men nor dogs noticed them.

But there were sacred geese kept in the temple of Juno, which in other times were fed without stint, but which then, as there was scarcely food enough for the men, were somewhat neglected. These birds are naturally quick of hearing and timid; and now rendered wakeful and wild by hunger, they quickly perceived the Gauls climbing up, and rushing noisily to the place, awoke the garrison.

The Gauls, feeling that they were discovered, no longer preserved silence, but violently assaulted the place. The Romans snatched whatever arms came first to hand and ran to repel them. First of all Manlius, a man of consular rank, strong of body and full of courage, fell in with two of the enemy. As one of them lifted up his battle-axe, Manlius cut off the right hand with his sword, while he dashed his shield into another's face and threw him backward down the cliff. Then he stood upon the wall, and with the help of those who gathered round him, beat off the rest, for not many had reached the top or effected anything equal to the

boldness of the attempt. After thus escaping the danger, the Romans threw their sentinel down the rock, whereas on Manlius they conferred by vote a reward for his bravery.

"Woe to the vanquished!"

Plutarch, *Camillus*, 28.

(Afterward the Romans on the Capitoline Mount came to terms with the enemy.) Brennus, the Gallic chief, and Sulpicius, a Roman leader of the commons, met, and it was agreed that the Romans should pay a thousand pounds of gold, and that on receiving it, the Gauls should at once leave the country. Both parties swore to observe these conditions; but while the gold was being weighed, the Gauls at first stealthily tampered with the scales and then openly pulled the beam, so that the Romans became angry. Thereupon Brennus insolently took off his sword and belt and threw them into the scale; and when Sulpicius asked, "What is this?" he replied, "Woe to the vanquished!"

Camillus comes to the rescue.

Plutarch, *Camillus*, 29.

While the Romans were thus disputing with the Gauls and with one another, Camillus with his army was at the gates. Learning what was going on within, he ordered the mass of his soldiers to follow him quietly and in good order, while he pushed on with the picked troops to join the Romans, who all made way for him and received him as their dictator with silence and respect. He then took the gold from the scales and gave it to his lictors, and ordered the Gauls to take the scales and the beam and depart; "for it is the custom of the Romans," he said, "to defend their country not with gold but with iron."

P. 85.

Rome, p. 27; *Ancient History*, p. 273.

Plutarch, *Camillus*, 30.

In this way Rome was strangely taken and yet more strangely rescued, after the Gauls had held it more than ten months. . . . Camillus, as we may easily imagine, entered the city in triumph as the saviour of his lost country and the restorer of Rome; for as he drove into the city he was accompanied by those who had before left it, and by their wives and children, while those who had been besieged in the Capitol, and all but starved there, came out to meet him, embracing one another, weeping, and scarcely believing in their present happiness.

The Samnite and Latin Wars

A half-century of success, 390–340 B.C.

(The half century after the departure of the Gauls and the rebuilding of the city was a time of great military success for Rome. On every side she was victorious over her enemies, and either won new territory or secured more thorough control of the lands she had already acquired. In this period she came into contact with Samnium, the most powerful nation in the interior of the peninsula. For a time the two states were allies, but afterward engaged in war against each other. The Romans were successful in this war, but in the year after it closed, war broke out between them and the Latins, their former allies.)

(First Samnite War, 343–341 B.C. For the previous alliance, see *Rome*, p. 49.)

The Great Latin War, 340–338 B.C.

Livy viii. 6.

What excited the attention of the Romans was that they had to contend against Latins, who were like themselves in language, in manners, in arms, and more especially in military institutions. Soldiers had been mixed with soldiers, centurions with centurions, tribunes with tribunes, as comrades and colleagues, in the same armies and often in the same companies. Lest this might involve the soldiers in mistakes, the consuls commanded that no one without orders should fight an enemy.

The story of Titus Manlius.

Livy, viii. 7.

It happened that among the prefects of the troops who had been sent out in all directions to reconnoitre, Titus Manlius, the consul's son, came with his troop to the rear of the enemy's camp, so near that he was scarcely distant a dart's throw from the next post. In that place were some Tusculan cavalry under Geminus Mæcius, a man distinguished among his fellow-citizens by birth and deeds. When he recognized the Roman cavalry and prominent among them the consul's son marching at their head, — for they were all known to each other, especially the leaders, — he exclaimed, "Romans, are you planning with a single troop to wage war upon the Latins and their allies? What meantime will the consuls and their two armies be doing?"

"They will be here in good time," Manlius replied, "and

with them will be Jupiter himself as a witness of the treaties you have violated; he is stronger and more powerful than they. If we fought at Lake Regillus until you had quite enough, here too we shall make the battle bring you no great joy." In reply Geminus, advancing some distance from his own party, said, "Before that day when you are to put your armies in motion with such mighty labor, do you choose to enter the lists with me that, from the result of a contest between us two, it may be seen how much a Latin excels a Roman knight?"

He accepts a challenge.

Either resentment or shame at declining the contest, or the invincible power of fate, roused the spirit of the youth. Forgetful therefore of his father's command and of the consul's edict, he rushed headlong to that contest in which it mattered little whether he met victory or defeat. As the other knights withdrew some distance to watch the fight, the champions in the clear space between the troops spurred on their horses against each other. When they met in fierce conflict, the spear of Manlius passed over the helmet of his foe, that of Mæcius across the neck of the other's horse. Then as they wheeled their horses round, Manlius rose to repeat the blow. He fixed his javelin between the ears of his foeman's steed. In pain the animal raised his fore paws high, violently tossed his head, and shook his rider off. While Geminus was leaning on his spear and buckler to raise himself from his heavy fall, Manlius pierced his throat so that the steel passed out through the ribs and pinned him to the ground.

He brings the spoil to his father.

Collecting the spoils, the victor returned to his own party, and with his exulting troop he proceeded to the camp and then to the general's tent — to his father. The young man was ignorant of what awaited him, whether praise or punishment. "Father," he cried, "that all may truly say I am sprung from your blood, when challenged I slew my foe, and have taken from him these knightly spoils." When the consul heard these words, he instantly turned from his son,

and ordered the soldiers assembled by sound of trumpet. When they had come together in great numbers, he said, "You, Titus Manlius, revering neither the consular power nor a father's majesty, have fought against the enemy contrary to our orders, and as far as in you lay, have subverted military discipline, through which the Roman power has stood to this day. As you have compelled me to forget either the republic or myself and mine, we shall expiate our own sins rather than permit the republic to suffer so serious a loss by our misdeeds. We shall be a sad example but a profitable one to the youth of future ages. As for me, the natural affection for my children, as well as that bravery which has led you astray by the false notion of honor, draws me to you. But since either the authority of consuls is to be established by your death, or by your forgiveness to be forever annulled, I think not even you, if you have our blood in your veins, will refuse by your punishment to restore the military discipline your conduct has overthrown. Go, lictor, bind him to the stake."

"Manlian orders" fulfilled.

All stood motionless more through fear than discipline, astonished by so cruel an order, each looking on the axe as if drawn against himself. Therefore they stood in profound silence; but when the blood spurted from his severed neck, their minds suddenly recovered from stupefaction, and their voices rose together in free expressions of complaint. They spared neither lamentation nor curses. The body of the youth, covered with the spoils, was burned on a pile outside the rampart with all the military zeal which could attend a funeral; and "Manlian orders" were not only viewed with horror for the present but remembered as most austere by future ages.

How the Samnites levied their troops.

(The war did not continue long before the Latins submitted. Afterward Rome waged two more wars with Samnium. The people of this country had some peculiar customs. The following passage shows how they levied their troops and how they equipped themselves and fought.)

When orders were issued for all to assemble at Aquilonia, the whole strength of Samnium came together, amounting to forty thousand men. There in the middle of the camp a piece of ground two hundred feet square was enclosed with hurdles and boards, and covered overhead with linen cloth. In this place sacrifices were performed according to directions read from an old linen book. The priest was a very old man named Ovius Paccius, who affirmed that he took these ceremonies from the ancient ritual of the Samnites, the same which their ancestors used when they had formed the secret design of wresting Capua from the Etruscans.

(Second war with Samnium, 326–304 B.C.; third war, 298–290 B.C.)

Livy x. 38.

Rome, p. 49.

When the sacrifices were finished, the general ordered a beadle to summon all who were most highly distinguished by their birth or conduct. They were brought in singly. Besides other ceremonies calculated to impress the mind with religious dread, altars were erected in the middle of the covered enclosure, and about them were placed the victims slain. Centurions stood round with their swords drawn. The soldier was led up to the altars, rather like a victim than a partaker of the ceremony, and was bound by an oath not to divulge what he should see and hear in that place. He was then compelled to swear in a dreadful form, invoking curses on his own person, his family, and his race, if he did not go to battle withersoever the commanders should lead, and if he fled from the field or failed to kill any whom he saw fleeing.

At first some refused to take the oath and were therefore put to death round the altars. Lying among the slain animals, they served afterward as a warning to others not to refuse. When those of the first rank in the Samnite nation had been bound under these solemn oaths, the general nominated ten, whom he ordered to choose each a man, and so to proceed until they should fill up the number of sixteen thousand. From the covering of the enclosure in which the nobles were thus devoted, this body of troops was called the Linen Legion.

How the Samnites were equipped, and how they fought.

They were furnished with splendid armor and plumed helmets to distinguish them from the rest. Another force, amounting to somewhat more than twenty thousand, was not inferior to the Linen Legion in personal appearance, in warlike renown, or in equipment. This number, composing the main strength of the nation, was levied at Aquilonia.

Livy ix. 40.

The war with the Samnites was full of danger but the issue was glorious. Along with their careful preparation for the field, they made their troops glitter with decorations on their armor. The army was in two divisions, one of which had their shields embossed with gold, the other with silver. The shield they wore was broad and flat above, to cover the breast and shoulders; below it tapered to a point so that it could be easily wielded. A loose corselet protected the breast and a greave covered the left leg. Their helmets were adorned with plumes to make the soldiers seem taller. The golden-armed troops wore gayly colored tunics, the silver-armed were dressed in white linen. On the right stood the silver corps, the golden on the left.

When the Romans heard of these splendid equipments, their commander said to them, "A soldier should be rough; he should put his trust not in silver and golden decorations but in his sword. The enemy's finery is spoil not armor. Glittering before the battle, it will soon be disfigured by blood and blows. The soldier's brightest ornament is bravery. These trinkets will follow victory, these rich enemies will be valuable prizes to us who conquer, poor though we may be."

After animating the men with these remarks, (Lucius Papirius) Cursor led them on to battle. He occupied the right wing, his master of horse the left. As soon as the fight began, the struggle between the opposing armies became desperate. No less earnest was the rivalry between the dictator and his master of horse as to which wing should first gain the victory. It happened that Junius (the master

of horse) first made the enemy's right give way. This division of the Samnites consisted of men who had been devoted according to their custom, and who were therefore arrayed in a white uniform and in armor of equal whiteness.

Crying out that he would sacrifice them to Pluto, Junius pressed forward and caused their line to waver. As the dictator saw this movement he exclaimed, "Shall victory begin on the left wing, and shall the right, the dictator's own troops, only second the arms of others and not claim the greater share of the victory?" This spurred the soldiers on. Neither did the cavalry yield to the infantry in daring nor the lieutenants to the commanders. Marcius Valerius on the right wing and Publius Decius on the left, both men of consular rank, rode off to the cavalry at the ends of the line; and encouraging them to share the honor, charged the enemy in the flanks. When this new alarm assailed the enemy on both sides, and the Roman legions rushed forward with shouts to confuse the foe, the Samnites took to flight. And now the plain was soon filled with heaps of bodies and splendid armor. At first the dismayed Samnites took shelter in their camp; but they did not hold it long. Before night it was captured, plundered, and burned. By a decree of the senate the dictator triumphed; and in his procession far the most splendid sight was the captured armor; so magnificent was it deemed that the shields, ornamented with gold, were distributed among the owners of the silver shops to adorn the Forum.

Rome, p. 41; *Ancient History*, p. 282.

Pyrrhus

War between Rome and Pyrrhus, 281–272 B.C.

(After the conquest of Samnium Rome designed to win control of all southern Italy. She openly broke her treaty with the people of Tarentum, who called on Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, for help.)

He was indeed a soldier worthy to command soldiers, the only king of the age in whom could be traced any

Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 8.

likeness to the great Alexander. By the fire and the energy of his movements in the field of battle, Pyrrhus revived the image of that hero; other kings mimicked him only in their behavior and in the trappings and state of royalty. We can form an opinion of his knowledge and skill in military affairs from the writings which he has left on these subjects. It is said, too, that Antigonus when asked who was the greatest general answered, "Pyrrhus, if he lives to be old," for he was speaking of the generals of his time only. Hannibal, however, considered Pyrrhus to have been the best general that ever lived for skill and resource, placing Scipio next and himself third, as is written in the life of Scipio.

Greece, p. 318.

In fact Pyrrhus devoted the whole of his intellect to the art of war; for he regarded it as the only study fit for a king, and held all other occupations frivolous. At a wine party he was once asked whether he thought Python or Caphisias the better flute-player, to which he answered that Polysperchon was the best general, as though that were the only subject on which a king should form or express an opinion.

(A general then living, who had been an officer under Alexander the Great.)

Yet he was mild-tempered and gentle toward his friends, full of gratitude for kindness and eager to repay it. He grieved greatly over the death of Aeropus, not so much because he was dead, for that, he said, was the common lot of mankind, but because he had himself delayed repaying Aeropus a kindness until it was too late. "Debts of money," he said, "can be paid to the heirs of a creditor, but men of honor are grieved at not being able to return a kindness during the lifetime of their benefactor." In Ambracia Pyrrhus was once advised to banish a man who abused him in scurrilous terms. He answered, "I would rather he remained where he is, and abuse me there than that he should wander through all the world doing so."

(Little else is known of Aeropus.)

Pyrrhus might have spent his days peacefully ruling his own subjects in Epirus; but he could not endure repose,

for he thought a life free from troubling others and from being troubled was unendurable; and like Achilles in the *Iliad*,

Tarentum invites his aid.

Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 13.

> He could not rest in indolence at home,
> He longed for battle and the joys of war.

As he desired some new adventures, he embraced the following opportunity. Rome was at war with the Tarentines; and as they were not strong enough to carry on the contest, and yet were not allowed by the audacious folly of their mob orators to make peace, they proposed to choose Pyrrhus leader and to invite him to be their ally in the war, for he was then more at leisure than any of the other kings and also was the best general of all. . . .

281–272 B.C.

Thus they voted for war and sent ambassadors to Epirus, not from Tarentum alone but from the other Greek cities in Italy. These delegates carried presents to Pyrrhus and were instructed to tell him that they required a leader of skill and renown, and that they possessed a force of Lucanians, Messapians, Samnites, and Tarentines which amounted to twenty thousand cavalry and three hundred and fifty thousand infantry. This information not only excited Pyrrhus, but made all the Epirots eager to take part in the campaign.

He disciplines the Tarentines.

Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 16.

When Pyrrhus arrived at Tarentum, he did nothing to displease the people till his fleet reached the coast and he had gathered the greater part of his army. Then as he saw that the populace, unless ruled by a strong hand, could help neither him nor themselves, but intended to stay idling about their baths and entertainments at home while he fought their battles, he closed the gymnasia and the public walks, in which the people were wont to waste their time in empty talk about the war. He forbade all drinking, feasting, and unreasonable revels, and forced the people to take arms. In carrying out this order he showed himself inexorable to every one who was on the muster-roll of able-bodied citizens. This conduct made him greatly disliked, and many of the Tarentines left the city in disgust; for they were so unused to

discipline that inability to pass their lives as they chose they considered to be no better than slavery.

The battle of Heraclea, 280 B.C.

(When Pyrrhus heard that the Roman army had come into Lucania to oppose him, he marched forth to meet it at Heraclea.) Learning that the Romans were near, and were encamping on the farther side of the river Siris, he rode down to the river to view them. When he saw their even ranks, their orderly movements, and their well-arranged camp, he was surprised, and said to the nearest of his friends, "These barbarians, Megacles, have nothing barbarian in their military discipline, but we shall soon learn what they can do."

He began already to feel some uncertainty as to the issue of the campaign, and determined to wait till his allies came up, and until then to watch the movements of the Romans and prevent their crossing the river. As they perceived his object, however, they quickly crossed the river, the infantry at a ford, the cavalry at many points at once, so that the Greeks, fearing that they might be surrounded, drew back.

Perceiving the movement, Pyrrhus ordered his officers instantly to form the troops in order of battle and wait under arms while he himself charged with the cavalry, three thousand strong, for he hoped to catch the Romans in the act of crossing the river and consequently in disorder. When he saw many shields of the Roman infantry appearing over the river bank and their horsemen all ranged in order, he closed up his own ranks and charged them. He himself took the lead, a conspicuous figure in his beautiful glittering armor, and he proved by his exploits that he deserved his high reputation; for though he fought personally and engaged in combat with the enemy, he continually watched the whole battle, and handled his troops with as much facility as though he were not in the thick of the fight, appearing always where his presence was most needed and reënforcing those who seemed likely to give way. (Pyrrhus won a hard-fought battle.)

The embassy of Cineas.

There was a certain Cineas, a Thessalian, who was considered a man of good judgment, and who having heard Demosthenes the orator speak, was better able than any of the speakers of his age to delight his hearers with an imitation of the eloquence of that great master of rhetoric. He was now in the service of Pyrrhus, and being sent about to various cities, proved true the proverb of Euripides that —

Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 14.

Greece, p. 220; *Ancient History*, p. 187.

All can be done by words
Which foemen wish to do with conquering swords.

Pyrrhus used to say that more cities were won for him by Cineas with words than he himself won by force of arms. . . . (Wishing to make peace with Rome,) Pyrrhus sent Cineas as ambassador to conduct the negotiations. He conversed with the leading men of Rome and offered their wives and children presents from the king. No one, however, would accept the gifts, but all, men and women alike, replied that if peace were publicly made with the king, they would then have no objection to regarding him as a friend. And when Cineas spoke before the senate in a winning and persuasive manner, he could make no impression upon his audience. . . . The common people, however, were evidently eager for peace, because they had been defeated in one great battle, and expected that they would have to fight another, — against a larger force, because the Italian states would join Pyrrhus.

Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 18.

Appius Claudius Cæcus.

At this crisis Appius Claudius (Cæcus), an illustrious man, who had long been prevented by old age and blindness from taking an active part in politics, hearing of the proposals of Pyrrhus and learning that the question of peace or war was about to be voted upon in the senate, could no longer endure to stay at home, but caused his sons to carry him in a litter through the Forum to the senate-house. When he reached the doors of the senate-house, his sons and his sons-in-law supported him and guided him as he entered, while all the assembly observed a respectful silence.

Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 18 f.

(Compare the "Monroe doctrine.")

(He then spoke against the proposal to treat with Pyrrhus while this Epirot king remained in the peninsula. *Italy for the Italians* was the new principle which he set forth. In conclusion he said,) "Do not imagine that you will rid yourselves of this man by making a treaty with him. Rather you will encourage other Greek princes to invade you, for they will despise you and think you an easy prey to all men, if you let Pyrrhus go home again without paying the penalty for his outrages upon you, nay with the power to boast that he has made Rome a laughing-stock for Tarentines and Samnites!"

By his words Appius roused a warlike spirit in the Romans, and they dismissed Cineas with the answer that if Pyrrhus would leave Italy, they would if he wished discuss the question of alliance with him, but that while he remained in arms in their country, the Romans would fight him to the death. . . .

During his mission at Rome Cineas is said to have taken a keen interest in examining the national life and institutions of the Romans, and to have fully appreciated the excellence of their political constitution, of which he learned by conversing with many of the leading men of the state. On his return he told Pyrrhus that the senate seemed to him like an assembly of kings.

Pyrrhus and Fabricius.

Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 20.

After this event Gaius Fabricius came to arrange terms for the exchange of prisoners. He was a man whom Cineas said the Romans valued especially for his virtue and bravery, but who was very poor. Pyrrhus, therefore, entertained Fabricius privately and offered him money, not as a bribe for a base act, but as a pledge of sincere friendship. Fabricius refused. Desiring to make an impression on him, Pyrrhus waited till next day, and as his guest had never seen an elephant, the king had his largest elephant placed behind Fabricius during their conference, concealed by a curtain. At a given signal the curtain was withdrawn, when with a harsh and terrible cry the creature stretched out his trunk over the head of Fabricius, who quietly turned round and said to Pyrrhus, "You could not move me with your gold yesterday nor can you move me with your beast to-day."

The failure of Pyrrhus.

Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 26.

After spending six years of constant fighting in Italy and Sicily, Pyrrhus failed. During this time he lost a great part of his force, but always, even in his defeats, kept his reputation for invincible bravery. In warlike skill and personal strength and daring he was thought to be by far the first prince of his age. Yet he always threw away the advantages which he had gained, to follow some chimerical scheme of further conquest. He was unable to take proper measures for the present because of his eagerness for the future.

(Soon after Pyrrhus had withdrawn from the peninsula, the Romans conquered Tarentum and made themselves masters of all Lower Italy.)

STUDIES

1. What were the provisions of the first treaty between Rome and Carthage? From this treaty what may we infer as to the relations between these states? as to their comparative power?

2. What does the myth of Horatius at the bridge teach in regard to Roman character? Did Lars Porsena or the Romans have the advantage in the treaty then concluded?

3. What were the provisions of the treaty between Rome and Latium? Does the treaty represent the two powers as equal?

4. What light does the myth of Coriolanus throw (1) on Roman patriotism, (2) on family affections?

5. From the maps (*Rome*, pp. 1, 41; *Ancient History*, pp. 255, 283) describe the location of Latium, Etruria, Carthage, the Volscians, the Æquians, Veii, the Allia, Samnium, Tarentum, and Lucania.

6. Give an account of the siege of Veii. What features of the story seem to be mythical? Write a biography of Camillus, including a description of his character. Was he patriotic? Compare Coriolanus.

7. Give an account of the Gallic invasion and of the sack of Rome.

8. In what respects were the Latins and the Romans alike? What may we learn of Roman character from the story of Titus Manlius?

9. How did the Samnites levy and equip their troops? Were the Samnites or the Romans the better fighters?

10. Write a biography of Pyrrhus, and describe his character. As a man and a general how does he compare with the most famous Romans? What was the character of the Tarentines?

11. What were the leading traits in the character of Appius Claudius Cæcus and Fabricius?

CHAPTER IV

The Government and the Political Parties

First Period of the Republic — Internal History (509–264 B.C.)

THE GOVERNMENT

The Republic, 509 B.C.

Cicero, *Republic*, ii. 30.

After the kingship had lasted more than two hundred and fifty years, Tarquin was expelled. At this time the Romans hated the name of king as much as they had once longed for the deceased — or rather the departed — Romulus. When Tarquin was banished, therefore, the monarchy came to an end.

(Law of Valerius Publicola.)

Then Publicola had a law passed by the popular assembly that no magistrate should put to death or scourge a Roman citizen without granting him the right of appeal to the people.

The consuls.

Livy ii. 1.

But we date the beginning of liberty from this period because the consuls were *annual* magistrates, not because they had any less power than that of king. The first consuls had all the privileges and trappings of royal authority. Care was taken, however, that they might not appear doubly terrible by both having the (lictors and) fasces at the same time. With the consent of his colleague Brutus was first attended by the fasces. He had been zealous in establishing liberty, and now he was its faithful guardian. First of all he required the people, while still enraptured with their new liberty, to swear that they would never again suffer a king to rule at Rome; for he feared that they might afterward be won over or bribed by the royal family. Next, that a full list of members might give the senate more strength, he chose into it the

Rome, p. 27; *Ancient History*, p. 273.

principal men from the class of knights so as to complete the number three hundred, which the king's murders had diminished.

King of the sacrifices. (*Rex sacrorum.*)

Then the Romans attended to religious matters. The kings had performed a part of the public worship; and in order that their service might not be missed, a king of the sacrifices was appointed. This priestly office the Romans made subject to the chief pontiff, in order that too great honor, added to the name of king, might not endanger their liberty, now their chief care.

Livy ii. 2.

Rome, p. 29; *Ancient History*, p. 275.

The senate and the consuls.

In that period the senate maintained the commonwealth in such a condition that, though the people were free, they had little to do with the government; for the senate managed nearly all public business by its own authority and according to its own customs and traditions, while over all, the consuls exercised a power which, though annual, was by nature and law truly royal. They earnestly enforced that rule which has done so much to maintain the power of the nobles, that the acts of the popular assembly should not be valid unless approved by the senate.

Cicero, *Republic*, ii. 32.

The dictator, 498 B.C.

Scarcely ten years after the first consuls, Titus Lartius was appointed first dictator. This new office seemed like the royal power restored.

Rome, p. 68.

Immediately after receiving his authority, he appointed Spurius Cassius master of horse, for no one to this day when chosen dictator enters upon his office without a master of horse. Wishing to make a display of his power for the purpose of striking terror rather than for any real use, he bade his lictors bear through the city their axes bound in rods (fasces). This was a custom of the kings but abandoned by the consuls, for Valerius Publicola made the change in order to render the consular office less hateful to the people.

Dionysius v. 75.

When the first dictator was appointed at Rome, the people, seeing the axes carried before him, were struck with awe, so that they became more submissive and more obedient to orders. Under the consuls a citizen oppressed by one could

Livy ii. 18.

ask the aid of the other; but under the dictator there was no such means of assistance; neither was there a right of appeal or any other resource except in strict obedience.

The Plebeians

The nobles oppress the people.

Sallust, *History* (a fragment).

(The patricians are the nobles, the plebeians the commons.)

From the very beginning of the republic the strong were encroaching on the weak, and for this reason the people were alienated from the senate. After the expulsion of the kings the ruling class exercised justice and moderation till only the dread of Tarquin and the fierce war with Etruria had subsided. From that time the patricians began to tyrannize over the plebeians as over slaves, to scourge and put them to death with authority like that of kings, to expel them from their lands, and excluding them from the government, to keep it entirely in their own hands. Greatly oppressed by these severities and still more by the illegal interest on debts, the people had also to contribute taxes and personal service for incessant wars.

The people rebel.

(Finally when a war with the Æquians and other neighbors broke out, the men of military age refused to enlist, till the government appointed as dictator Manius Valerius, brother of Publicola, a warm friend of the people. When the dictator had given his word that after the war they should have their grievances redressed, they readily enlisted, and soon brought the war to a successful close.)

Their dictator resigns.

Livy ii. 31.

First of all Valerius brought before the senate a proposal for the relief of those who were in prison for debt. And when his motion was rejected, he said, "I am not acceptable as an adviser of concord. You will ere long wish, depend on it, that the commons of Rome had patrons like me. For my part I will not further disappoint my fellow-citizens nor will I be dictator to no purpose. Civil discord and foreign wars made this magistrate necessary. Peace has been secured abroad but is impeded at home. I will witness the trouble as a private citizen, not as dictator." Then quitting the

senate-house, he retired from his office. The commons saw he had resigned through indignation at their wrongs, and felt that his engagements to them were fully discharged, as it had not been his fault that they were not made good. When he was returning home, accordingly, they attended him with shouts of approval.

They secede to the Sacred Mount.

The senators feared that if the army should be disbanded, secret meetings and conspiracies might be renewed. Now it happened that though the dictator had levied these troops, they had sworn obedience to the consuls. As the senate supposed, therefore, that after the resignation of the dictator, the soldiers would still be bound by their oaths to the consuls, it pretended that a new war with the Æquians was breaking out. On this pretext it ordered the consuls to lead the legions from the city; but this movement merely hastened the sedition. At first the soldiers, to free themselves from their oaths, even thought of killing the consuls; but when they were told that no religious obligation could be discharged by a criminal act, they took the advice of Sicinius to retire without the orders of the consuls to the Sacred Mount beyond the river Anio, three miles from the city. This form of the story is more common than that told by Piso, which states that the soldiers seceded to the Aventine. There without any leaders they fortified their camp with a wall and trench. Taking nothing (from the neighboring fields) but what was necessary for sustenance, they remained quiet for several days, neither attacked nor attacking others.

Livy ii. 32.

P. 44.

A panic in the city.

Great was the panic in the city; all were in suspense through fear of one another. The people left in the city dreaded the violence of the senators; the senators dreaded the people who remained in the city. The nobles did not know whether they should prefer the commons to stay or depart. "How long," they asked, "will the multitude which has seceded remain quiet? What would result if meanwhile any foreign war should break out? Certainly

no hope would be left save in the concord of the citizens. Harmony must be restored to the state by fair or unfair means." They resolved therefore to send to the seceders Menenius Agrippa, an eloquent man and a favorite with the people, because by birth he was one of their number. Admitted to the camp, he is said to have told in old-fashioned, homely words the following story.

The fable of the stomach and limbs.

"Once when all the parts of the human body did not, as now, agree together, but the several members had each its own scheme and language, the parts were all indignant that their care, labor, and service procured everything for the use of the stomach, which remained idle in the middle of the body and did nothing but enjoy itself. They conspired accordingly that the hands should not carry food to the mouth, nor the mouth receive it when presented, nor the teeth chew it. But while, under the influence of this feeling, they were trying to subdue the stomach by famine, the members themselves and the entire body were reduced to the last degree of leanness. In this way it became evident that the service of the stomach was by no means a slothful one; that it did not so much receive nourishment as supply it, sending to all parts of the body this blood by which we live and possess strength, and distributing it equally among the veins after it has been perfected by the digestion of the food." By showing in this way how similar the internal sedition of the body was to the resentment of the people against the senators, he made an impression on the minds of the multitude.

The tribunes of the plebs.

Livy ii. 33.

Then they began to consider a reconciliation, and among the conditions it was allowed that the plebeians should have their own magistrates, with inviolable privileges, who should have the power of bringing common people aid against the consuls, and that it should not be lawful for any of the patricians to hold this office. In this way two tribunes of the plebs were created.

493 B.C.

By the institution of two tribunes to appease the sedition

of the people, the power of the senate was lessened. Still it remained dignified and august, for it was still composed of the wisest and bravest men, who protected their country in peace and in war. Their authority was still strong because in honor they were superior to their fellow-citizens.

Cicero, *Republic*, ii. 34.

Spurius Cassius

(Some years afterward) Spurius Cassius and Proculus Virginius were elected consuls. They made a treaty with the Hernicans, according to which these people were deprived of two-thirds of their territory. Cassius planned to distribute one-half of this land among the Latins, the other half among the Roman commons. To this donation he wished to add a considerable portion of public land occupied by private persons. This policy alarmed several of the senators, the actual occupiers, for they were in danger of losing the property. The senators were anxious, too, in behalf of the state, for by his gift the consul was establishing an influence dangerous to liberty. This was the first proposal of a land law, which down to the time within our own memory has never been agitated without the greatest civil commotion. . . .

His agrarian law. 286 B.C.

Livy ii. 41.

(In stating that the Hernicans were deprived of part of their land, Livy has certainly made a mistake.)

Both consuls vied with each other in humoring the commons. Virginius said he would suffer the lands to be assigned, provided they were assigned to no one but to Roman citizens. Cassius, who by this proposal sought popularity among the allies, was therefore lowered in the esteem of his countrymen. That he might win them by another gift, he ordered that the money received for the Sicilian corn should be refunded to the people. This proposal the people rejected as nothing less than a bribe for regal authority. So strongly were his gifts spurned by men, as if they possessed everything in abundance, for they suspected that he was aiming to obtain sovereign power. As soon as he went out of office, he was condemned and put to death.

Rivalry of the consuls.

(All now agree that this part of the story is unhistorical. Some features of it are taken from the period of the Gracchi.)

Death of Cassius.

Some think that his father was the person who inflicted the punishment, that after trying his son at home he scourged him and put him to death, and consecrated his property to Ceres, and that from the money obtained by the sale a statue was set up with the inscription DEDICATED BY THE CASSIAN FAMILY. In some authors I find it stated, with greater probability, that the quæstors Cæso Fabius and Lucius Valerius set a day for his trial, on which the people in the assembly condemned him. By a decree of the assembly his house in the open space before the temple of Tellus was torn down.

(Goddess of the earth, Greek Gaea.)

THE DECEMVIRS

The decemvirs, 451–449 B.C.

Cicero, *Republic*, ii. 36.

(Afterward) at a time when the authority of the senate was great, and the people were submissive and obedient, a new plan was adopted. In place of the consuls and the tribunes of the plebs, ten men — *decemviri* — with absolute authority, from whom there could be no appeal, were elected to conduct the government and to write the laws. After they had compiled ten tables of the laws with justice and wisdom, the people elected for the following year another board of ten, whose integrity and justice do not deserve similar praise.

Their tyranny.

Cicero, *Republic*, ii. 37. (In the best form of government the social ranks — nobles and commons — are fairly represented.)

(But cf. *Rome*, pp. 77–79.)

A third year followed under the same decemvirs, who would not allow successors to be elected. This condition of the state, as I have often said, could not be lasting, for the authority was not distributed among the social ranks but was all vested in ten great nobles, who were limited neither by the tribunes of the plebs, nor by other magistrates, nor by the right of appeal to the people in cases involving the death penalty or scourging.

The injustice of these men accordingly excited a great revolution, and completely changed the form of government. They added two tables of unjust laws; and though intermarriages had been permitted even with foreign nations,

they by a most inhuman law forbade intermarriages between the patricians and the plebeians, — a regulation afterward repealed by the Canuleian law. Furthermore they introduced into all their measures corruption, cruelty, and avarice. The story is well known, and celebrated in many literary works, that Decimus Verginius was obliged to stab his maiden daughter in the midst of the Forum to save her from the depraved violence of one of those decemvirs. The desperate father fled to the Roman army, which was encamped at Mount Algidus. The troops then abandoned the war in which they were engaged, and took possession of the Sacred Mount, as they had done before on a similar occasion. Marching thence under arms, they seized the Aventine.

P. 87.

Their fall, 449 B.C. Livy iii. 54.

The senate then decreed that the decemvirs should immediately resign their office, that Quintus Furius, the chief pontiff, should hold an election (comitia) of the plebeian tribunes, and that no one should suffer harm for having taken part in the secession. After passing these decrees, the senate was dismissed, whereupon the decemvirs came before the assembly and to the great joy of all resigned their office. Messengers carried this news to the commons in the camp. All who were in the city followed the messengers; and this throng was met by another joyous crowd from the camp. They congratulated one another on the restoration of peace and harmony in the state. The messengers addressed the people, — "May it be well and fortunate and happy for you and for the republic; return now to your country, to your household gods, your wives, and children, but bring into the city the same moderation which you have shown here, where you have touched no one's field, though you needed a great supply of provisions for this vast multitude. Go to the Aventine, whence you have come. In that auspicious place, where you took the first step toward liberty, you shall elect tribunes of the plebs. The chief pontiff will be at hand to hold the comitia."

Great was the applause and joy with which they assented to every measure. Hastily they raised their standards, and setting out for Rome, they tried in expressions of gladness to outdo every one they met on the way. When they arrived at Rome, they gathered in their comitia under the chief pontiff for the election of their tribunes. . . .

The tribal assembly, 449 B.C.

Livy iii. 55.

Then Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius were elected consuls through an interrex, and immediately entered office. Their consulship was popular; and though they were disagreeable to the rest of the patricians, they did no real injury to that party. For the measures these magistrates took to secure the liberty of the commons merely limited their own power. Because there was a difference of opinion as to whether the resolutions of the plebeian assembly were binding on the patricians, the consuls passed a law through the assembly of centuries that whatever the tribal assembly of plebeians decreed should bind the entire people. This law gave a keen-edged weapon to resolutions proposed by the tribunes (who presided over the plebeian assembly).

Laws of the Twelve Tables

Funerals.

Let the master of a funeral make use of a public officer and lictors. Let it be lawful for him to use three mantles in a funeral, a purple fillet for the head, and ten flute-players. Let him do no more than this.

Let none pour wine mixed with precious ointment into dead bodies.

Let none make more than one funeral for one person, or carry more than one bier in the funeral procession.

Let none make use of gold in funerals. But if the teeth of the deceased are fastened with gold, let none be prosecuted for burying or burning the deceased with that gold.

Let not women scratch their faces or tear their cheeks or raise lamentations on account of a funeral.

Let the praises of honored men be repeated in a gathering of the people ; and let songs of mourning, accompanied with a flute, attend these praises.

The family and property.

Let the father have power over the life and death of his son. Let it be lawful to sell the son as a slave three times. If the father shall sell the son three times, let the son be free from his father.

Let there be a space of two and a half feet round the outer wall of every house.

Let an oath be of the greatest force to insure credit.

Let no man take more interest for money than one per cent a month. If he shall do otherwise, let him be fined four times that sum.

Crimes.

If a judge or arbitrator appointed by law shall take money for a judgment to be given, let the crime be capital.

If any one breaks the limb of another and makes no reparation, let retaliation take place.

Whoever shall maliciously burn another's house, let him be bound and whipped at the discretion of the prætor, and burned. But if the mischief is accidental, let him, at the discretion of the prætor, repair the damage or be punished for it by being whipped.

Rome, p. 86; *Ancient History*, p. 309.

If any one shall publish slander or write verses to the defamation of another, let the offence be capital. If any shall assemble in the city privately at night, let the offence be capital.

Let there be no intermarriage between patricians and plebeians.

Debtors.

Let thirty days' grace be granted after a debt has been confessed and judgment given. Then let the debtor be seized. Let the creditor bring him before the court. If he does not obey the summons, or is not bailed by any one, let the creditor take him away and bind him with a thong or with fetters weighing no more than fifteen pounds, or if he will, less. If the debtor pleases, let him maintain himself. If he does not maintain himself, let the one who keeps him

in bonds give him a pound of spelt every day; if he thinks fit, more. Meantime let there be an agreement. If the debtor does not agree with his creditor, let the latter keep him in bonds sixty days. In this period let the creditor cite him to court three market days in succession, and let him proclaim the sum at which the costs are laid. Then let the creditor put him to death; or if he pleases, sell him as a slave in a foreign country beyond the Tiber. But if the debtor is assigned to many creditors, let them on the third market day cut his body into several pieces. If they cut more or less, let it bring no damage to themselves.

A New Office

The censors, 443 B.C. Livy iv. 8.

In the year in which Marcus Geganius Macerinus was consul a second time and Titus Quinctius Capitolinus a fifth time, the censorship was instituted. Though of humble origin, it grew in importance till it came to regulate the morals and discipline of Rome, to revise the list of the senators and knights, to mark the citizens with honor or disgrace, and to control the revenues of the state. The Romans instituted the office because the census and assessment of citizens had not been taken for several years. This work could no longer be deferred, and the consuls had no leisure to attend to it while wars with so many states were impending.

First some one in the senate suggested that a duty laborious in itself and little suited to the consular office needed an especial magistrate, under whose authority should be placed the several clerks, the care of the records, and the whole business of taking the census. And though the proposal seemed insignificant, the senate received it gladly because it increased the number of patrician magistrates. The senate must have felt, too, that the magistracy was sure to become dignified and influential. The tribunes, regarding the office as a necessary rather than a brilliant one, made no

opposition for fear that they might seem through sheer perverseness to thwart the senate even in trifles.

After the chief men in the state had rejected the honor, the people elected to the censorship Papirius and Sempronius, concerning whose consulship in the preceding year there had been some doubt. This new office was to repay them for having held the consulship for a part only of the year. From the nature of their duties they were called censors.

A Reformer

The wretched peasants.

(Year after year the plebeians elected patrician magistrates, who in return did nothing to improve the condition of the poor. After a time the barbarous Gauls invaded the country, burned the houses of the peasants, and destroyed their crops. The wretched peasants fell into debt to the patricians, who imprisoned or sold as slaves those who could not pay. Under these circumstances Marcus Manlius, a patrician of great fame and ability who had saved the Capitoline Hill from the Gauls, began with his private means to relieve the distress.)

P. 69.

Marcus Manlius.

When he saw a centurion, renowned for warlike deeds, led off to prison for debt, he ran up with his attendants in the middle of the Forum, and laying hands on the prisoner, he protested aloud against the insolence of the patricians, the cruelty of the usurers, the wrongs of the commons, and the deserts and misfortune of the centurion. "In vain," he said, "have I preserved the Capitol and citadel by this right hand, if I am to see my fellow-citizens and fellow-soldiers, as though captured by the victorious Gauls, dragged into slavery and chains." He then paid the debt to the creditor openly before the people, and after purchasing the man's liberty with bronze weighed on the scales, he set him free.

Livy vi. 14.

A centurion praises him

The released officer implored both gods and men to reward Marcus Manlius, his liberator, the parent of the Roman

commons. Passing into the noisy crowd, the man even increased the disturbance by showing the scars he had received in the wars with Veii, with the Gauls, and with other nations. "While I was serving in the army," he said, "and was trying to rebuild my house which had been destroyed, I paid off the principal of the debt many times over, but still the interest always kept adding to the principal till I was overwhelmed with interest. But through the kind aid of Marcus Manlius I now behold the light, the Forum, and the faces of my fellow-citizens. From him I receive all the kind services which usually come to children from parents. To him therefore I devote whatever remains of my person, my life, and my blood. Whatever ties bind me to my country, and to the guardian gods of the state and of my house, — all join me to him alone."

Manlius grows more popular.

Excited by these words, the plebeian crowd was all for Manlius, when another event increased the confusion. Manlius offered for sale the principal part of his estate — a farm in the district taken from Veii. "I do this," he explained, "that I may not suffer one of you, Romans, as long as any of my property remains, to be delivered over to a creditor and to be dragged off to prison." His conduct in this matter so inflamed their minds that they determined to follow the defender of their freedom through everything right or wrong. Furthermore in his own house he made speeches, like public harangues, full of accusations against the patricians. He even insinuated that the patricians were concealing treasures of gold which had been retaken from the Gauls. "They no longer content themselves with occupying the public land," he exclaimed, "but they appropriate the public funds. If the truth of this matter should be brought to light, the poor could be freed from their debts."

P. 69.

The dictator imprisons him.

The dictator ordered him to lay aside evasion, and to prove the truth of his assertion or to confess that he had falsely accused the senators, exposing them in this way to public hatred. But as he refused to speak or to meet the wishes

Livy vi. 16.

of his enemies, the dictator ordered him to be carried off to prison.

What the people think.

Thereupon persons were heard freely chiding the multitude because by their favor they were always raising their defenders to a dangerous height, only to forsake them in time of trouble. "In this way," they continued, "Spurius Cassius, when inviting the commons to share in the lands, and Spurius Mælius, when warding off famine from the mouths of his fellow-citizens at his own expense, have been undone; thus Marcus Manlius is betrayed to his enemies while he is bringing forth to liberty and light one-half of the state, which was sunk and overwhelmed in usury. The commons fatten their favorites for slaughter. Is this to be the punishment, if a man of consular rank does not answer to the nod of a dictator? . . ."

Livy vi. 17.

Rome, p. 82; *Ancient History*, p. 306.

The crowd did not disperse even for the night, but threatened to break open the prison. Seeing that Manlius would be set free by force, the senate decreed his release; but so far from calming the sedition, this act merely supplied it with a leader.

He is tried for treason.

With the approval of all, (the tribunes) appointed a day of trial for Manlius. When the trial came, the commons were at first excited, especially when they saw the accused in mourning and alone; for not only the patricians, but even his kinsmen, nay even his brothers, Aulus and Titus Manlius, had forsaken him. Never before had it happened at such a crisis that a man's nearest friends failed to put on mourning. People said to one another, "When Appius Claudius (the decemvir) was imprisoned, Gaius Claudius, though at enmity with him, and the entire Claudian family appeared in mourning; but they are plotting to destroy this favorite of ours because he is the first patrician to come over to the commons."

Livy vi. 20.

No evidence of guilt.

No historians say what evidence the prosecutors brought forward in the trial to prove that Manlius had aspired to be king; writers mention only the meetings he held in his house,

his seditious words, his gifts, and his pretended discovery of the hidden gold. Doubtless the evidence was important, for the delay of the plebs in condemning him was caused, not by the merits of the case, but by the place of trial. This fact is worth noticing that all may know that his depraved ambition for the kingship not only deprived his former glorious deeds of all merit, but even rendered them hateful.

(Probably there was no evidence.)

His defence.

It is said that in this trial he brought forward as witnesses nearly four hundred persons to whom he had lent money without interest, whose goods he had prevented from being sold, whom he had kept from imprisonment, after they had been adjudged to their creditors. Furthermore he not only enumerated his military rewards but also presented them to view — spoils of thirty enemies slain, presents from generals to the number of forty, the most remarkable of which were two mural and eight civic crowns. In addition to these trophies he introduced citizens rescued from the enemy, and mentioned as one of them Gaius Servilius, now absent, but who when rescued was master of the horse. After he had recounted his martial deeds in proud language suited to the dignity of the subject, and had equalled his achievements by his eloquence, he bared his breast marked with scars he had received in battle ; and now and then directing his eyes to the Capitol, he called down Jupiter and the other gods to aid him in his present misfortune. He prayed that the same sentiments with which the gods had inspired him to protect the Capitoline fortress for the preservation of the Roman people might now inspire the Roman people to judge of him at this crisis in his life. And he entreated them, singly and collectively, that they would form their decision concerning him, with their eyes fixed on the Capitol and citadel, and their faces turned to the immortal gods.

P. 133 f.

As the people were summoned by centuries in the Campus Martius, and as the accused, extending his hands toward the Capitol, directed his prayers no longer to men but to the gods, it became evident to the tribunes that unless they

removed the eyes of men from the memory of so great an exploit, a true charge would find no place in the minds of the people, prejudiced as they were by such service.

Sentence of death.

For this reason the day of trial was adjourned, and a meeting (*concilium*) of the people was summoned in the Peteline grove outside the Flumentan gate. From this place the Capitol could not be seen. There the charge was proved, and as the people's minds were now free from prejudice, a fatal sentence, and one which excited horror even in his judges, was passed on him. Some state that he was condemned by the two judges of treason. The tribunes cast him down from the Tarpeian rock; and in this way that place became a monument of distinguished glory and of extreme punishment.

("River Gate," on the west side of Rome. The grove is not otherwise known.)

Rome, p. 68; *Ancient History*, p. 298.

Marks of infamy were set upon him when dead. One was a public disgrace upon his dwelling, which stood on the ground now occupied by the temple of Moneta and the mint. The house was destroyed and it was proposed to the people that no patrician should dwell on the citadel and Capitol. A private disgrace was imposed by his family, which decreed that no one of the Manlian *gens* should ever afterward bear the name of Marcus. Such was the fate of a man, who had he not been born in a free state, would have been remembered with honor by posterity.

The people repent.

In a short time, when there was no longer any danger from him, the people, remembering only his virtues, were seized with regret for him. A pestilence, too, soon followed; and in the absence of other causes of so great a calamity, it seemed to many to have arisen from the punishment of Manlius. "The Capitol," they murmured, "has been polluted with the blood of its saviour; nor has it been pleasant to the gods to behold the punishment of him who rescued their temples from the hands of the enemy."

STUDIES

1. Describe the government of the early republic. Compare it with the government under the kings.

2. What caused the secession of the plebeians? How was the trouble settled? What do you suppose were the comparative numbers of the patricians and plebeians?

3. From the maps (*Rome*, pp. 1, 41; *Ancient History*, pp. 255, 283) describe the course of the Anio River; of the Tiber.

4. Though Spurius Cassius was a real person, the story of his law is largely mythical. What features of the story seem to be historical? (*Rome*, p. 75; *Ancient History*, p. 301 f.)

5. Compare the story of the decemvirs with the account given in *Rome*, pp. 76–79; *Ancient History*, p. 303 f. What features of the traditional story seem to be mythical?

6. Soon after the fall of the decemvirs what law was passed regarding one of the assemblies? What was its purpose?

7. From the laws of the Twelve Tables what may we infer regarding (1) the funeral customs, (2) the family, (3) honesty in business, (4) the condition of the poor, (5) the general character of the Romans of the time?

8. What were the duties of the censors, and what was the importance of their office?

9. What was the condition of the peasants in the time of Marcus Manlius? How did he try to improve their condition? Was he in fact a dangerous man (cf. *Rome*, p. 85; *Ancient History*, p. 308)? Did the nobles and the tribunes have a selfish motive in attacking him?

10. Write a paper on Roman Character before the Punic Wars, citing for illustration as many Romans as possible.

CHAPTER V

The Expansion of the Roman Power

Second Period of the Republic — External History (264–133 B.C.)

The founding of Carthage.

Vergil, *Æneid*, i. 333–368.

(Venus, in the disguise of a Tyrian maiden, is speaking to her son Æneas, who has been driven by a storm to the African coast.)

Punic dominions thou seest, the Tyrians, and town of Agenor;
But the confines are Libyan, a race undaunted in warfare.
Tyrian Dido the sovereignty sways, from her city an exile,
Fleeing her brother. The tale of her grievance is lengthy, and lengthy
Too are its mazes; but I will the main trails trace of its outlines.
She had a husband, Sychæus, the richest in landed possessions
Known of Phœnicians, and loved by her lorn with a passionate fondness.
Virgin the father had given her to him, and wedded with brightest
Omens of bliss, but her brother, Pygmalion, then was the kingdom
Ruling of Tyrus, in crime more atrocious by far than all others.
'Twixt them a fierce animosity came, and he basely Sychæus
Even in front of the altars, and blinded by lust for his money,
Stealthy, with dagger, o'ercomes unawares, disregarding his sister's
Tender attachments; and long he the deed concealed, and the pining
Lover the villain, by many a pretext, wheedled with empty
Hope: but the ghost of her husband unburied, itself in her night-dreams
Came to her, lifting before her its visage amazingly pallid:
Ghastly the altars it laid, and its bosom all gashed with the dagger,
Naked to view, and uncovered each hidden misdeed of the household.
Then it exhorts her to hasten escape, and depart from the country.
And, as an aid for her journey, in earth it discloses her ancient
Treasures, an unaccountable weight both of gold and of silver.
Dido, incited by these, was preparing her flight and companions:
Rally round her all who have felt for the tyrant a mortal
Hate or poignant fear; the vessels, which chance to be ready,
Seize they, and load them with gold, and away on the ocean are wafted
Miser Pygmalion's hoardings: a woman is guide of the project.

Thence to these haunts they have come, where now thou seest yon stately
Ramparts and rising castle of recently colonized Carthage.
Ground they have purchased, and named it, from terms of the bargain, the Byrsa,
Just so much it should be as they could enclose with a bull's hide.

They have the meanwhile taken the road, where the pathway directs them.
Vergil, *Æneid*, i. 418–429
And were climbing a hillock, which full o'er the neighboring city
Beetles, and high from above looks down on the opposite castles.
Wonders Æneas at pile so imposing, where lately were hovels;
Wonders he, too, at the gates, and the din, and the thoroughfares' pavements.
Press on the Tyrians hotly, a part in extending the town-walls;
Part in constructing the castle, by hand up-rolling the ashlers;
Part in selecting a house-lot, and trenching it round with a furrow.
Laws they enact, and magistrates choose and a reverend senate.
Here some are dredging a harbor, there others a theatre's deep-placed
Solid foundations are laying, and columns immense from the quarries
Hewing, the ornamentations superb for the scenes of the future.

Her early history.

Appian, *Punic Wars*, 1.

The Phœnicians settled Carthage, in Africa, fifty years before the capture of Troy. Its founders were either Zorus and Carchedon, or as the Romans and the Carthaginians themselves think, Dido, a Tyrian woman, whose husband had been slain secretly by Pygmalion, the ruler of Tyre. As the murder was revealed to her in a dream, she embarked for Africa with her property and with a number of men who desired to escape from the tyranny of Pygmalion, and arrived at that part of Africa where Carthage now stands. Repelled by the inhabitants, they asked for as much land for a dwelling-place as they could enclose with an ox-hide. The Africans laughed at this frivolity of the Phœnicians, and were ashamed to deny so small a request. Besides they could not imagine how a town could be built on so narrow a space; and wishing to unravel the mystery, they agreed to give it, and confirmed the promise with an oath. The Phœnicians, cutting the hide round and round in one narrow strip, enclosed the place where the citadel of Carthage now stands, which from this affair was called Byrsa (a hide).

Proceeding from this start, and getting the upper hand of their neighbors, — as they were more adroit, — they built a city around Byrsa. Gradually acquiring strength, they mastered Africa and the greater part of the Mediterranean, carried war into Sicily and Sardinia and the other islands of that sea, and also into Spain. They sent out many colonies. They became a match for the Greeks in power, and next to the Persians in wealth.

Appian, *Punic Wars*, 2.

The constitution of Carthage.

The Carthaginian constitution seems to me to have been in the beginning well contrived in the following important respects. They had (two) kings, and the senate had the powers of an aristocracy, and the people were supreme in such affairs as affected them; and on the whole the adjustment of the governmental powers was very like that of Rome and Sparta. About the time, however, when Hannibal was leading Carthage to a war with Rome, the state of Carthage was declining, but that of Rome was improving. . . . In Carthage the influence of the people in the policy of the state had already risen to be supreme, whereas at Rome the senate was at the height of its power; and so, as in the one state measures were deliberated upon by the many, in the other by the best men, the policy of the Romans in all public undertakings proved the stronger. On this account, though they met with capital disasters, by their prudent counsels they finally conquered the Carthaginians in the war.

Polybius vi. 51.

Greece, p. 61; *Ancient History*, p. 101.

Rome and Carthage in war.

If we look, however, at separate details, for instance at the provisions for carrying on a war, we shall find that for a naval expedition the Carthaginians are the better trained and prepared, — as it is only natural with a people with whom this craft has been hereditary for many generations, and who follow the seaman's trade above all other nations in the world. In regard to military service on land, however, the Romans train themselves to a much higher pitch than the Carthaginians. The Romans bestow their entire attention on this department of military service, whereas the Carthaginians wholly neglect their infantry, though they do

Polybius vi. 52.

take some slight interest in their cavalry. The reason for this is that they employ foreign mercenaries, but the Romans native and citizen levies. It is in this point that the Roman polity is preferable to the Carthaginian. The one nation has its hopes of freedom ever resting on the courage of mercenary troops, the other on the valor of citizens and the aid of allies. The result is that even if the Romans have suffered a defeat at first, they renew the war with undiminished forces, which the Carthaginians cannot do. For as the Romans are fighting for country and children, it is impossible for them to relax the fury of their struggle; but they persist with obstinate resolution till they overcome their enemies.

Skill opposed to strength and courage.

In skill the Romans are far behind the Carthaginians, as I have said; yet the upshot of the whole naval war has been a decided triumph for the Romans, owing to the valor of their men. For although nautical science contributes largely to success in sea fights, still it is the courage of the sailors which turns the scale most decisively in favor of victory. The fact is that the Italians as a nation are by nature superior to the Phœnicians and the Libyans in both physical strength and courage.

Contrast in honesty.

Again the Roman customs and principles regarding money transactions are better than those of the Carthaginians. The latter think nothing disgraceful that makes for gain; with the Romans nothing is more disgraceful than to receive bribes and to make profit by improper means. For they regard wealth obtained from unlawful transactions to be as much a subject of reproach, as a fair profit from the most unquestioned source is of commendation. A proof of the fact is this. The Carthaginians obtain office by open bribery; among the Romans the penalty for such conduct is death.

The First Punic War

Immediate cause.

Such was the contrast between Rome and Carthage at the time they first began war against each other. The

immediate cause of the war was the conduct of some Campanian mercenaries in Sicily.)

The Mamertines. Polybius i. 7.

The Campanian mercenaries of Agathocles (tyrant of Syracuse) for some time cast greedy eyes upon Messene (Latin Messana) because of its beauty and wealth. As soon as they had an opportunity, therefore, they made a treacherous attempt upon the city. They entered it in the guise of friendship, and once in possession, they drove out some of the citizens and put others to the sword. This done, they seized the wives and children of the dispossessed citizens, each keeping those whom fortune had assigned him at the very moment of the lawless deed. All other property as well as the land they afterward divided among themselves and kept as their own.

Seizure of Rhegium.

The speed with which they became masters of a fair territory and city excited a ready imitation of their conduct. When Pyrrhus was crossing to Italy, the people of Rhegium felt a double anxiety. They were dismayed at the thought of his approach, and at the same time were afraid of the Carthaginians, who were masters of the sea. They accordingly asked and obtained a force from Rome to guard and support them. The garrison, four thousand strong, under the command of a Campanian named Decius Jubellius, entered the city and for a time preserved it faithfully. But at last, in imitation of the Mamertines and with their aid, they broke faith with the people of Rhegium, enamored of the pleasant site of the town and the wealth of the citizens. Driving out some of the men and putting others to death, as the Mamertines had done at Messene, they seized the city.

Deserved punishment.

Though the Romans were much annoyed by this transaction, they could take no active steps because they were deeply engaged in wars. But when free from them, they invested and besieged the garrison. Presently they captured the place and killed the greater number in the assault; for the men resisted desperately, knowing what must follow.

More than three hundred taken alive were sent to Rome, and there the consuls brought them into the Forum, where they were scourged and beheaded according to custom; for the Romans wished as far as they could to vindicate their good faith in the eyes of the allies. The territory and town they at once handed over to the people of Rhegium.

The Mamertines in trouble.

Polybius i. 8.

But the Mamertines, as the Campanians at Messene called themselves, while they enjoyed the alliance of the Roman captors of Rhegium, not only exercised absolute control over their own town and district undisturbed, but also gave no little trouble to their neighbors, the Carthaginians and the Syracusans; and they levied tribute on many parts of Sicily. But when they were deprived of this support, — the captors of Rhegium being now invested and besieged, — they were themselves promptly forced back into the town by the Syracusans.

They ask aid of Rome.

Polybius i. 10.

Thereupon some of them betook themselves to the protection of the Carthaginians, and were for putting themselves and the citadel into their hands, while others sent an embassy to Rome to offer a surrender of their city, and to beg assistance on the ground of the ties of race. The Romans were long in doubt. The inconsistency of sending such aid seemed manifest. A little while ago they had put some of their own citizens to death, with the extreme penalties of the law, for having broken faith with the people of Rhegium; and now so soon afterward to assist the Mamertines, who had done precisely the same to Messene, involved a breach of equity very hard to justify.

The Romans deliberate.

But while fully alive to these points, they saw that Carthaginian aggression was not confined to Libya, but had embraced many districts in Iberia as well; and besides Carthage was mistress of all the islands in the Sardinian and Tyrrhenian seas. They were beginning, therefore, to be exceedingly anxious lest, if the Carthaginians became masters of Sicily, they should find them very dangerous and formidable neighbors; for they would surround Italy on all sides and would

occupy a position which would command all the coasts of the peninsula. Now it was clear that if the Mamertines did not obtain the assistance they asked for, the Carthaginians would very soon reduce all Sicily. For should they accept the offer of Messene and become masters of it, they were certain before long to crush Syracuse also, since they were already lords of nearly all the rest of Sicily. The Romans saw all this, and felt that it was absolutely necessary not to let Messene slip, or allow the Carthaginians to secure what would be like a bridge to enable them to cross into Italy. . . . They accordingly voted in favor of giving the aid. . . . Polybius i.11.

The Romans occupy Messene, 264 B.C.

The Roman consul Appius, for his part, gallantly crossed the strait by night and got possession of Messene. But he found that the enemy (Syracusans and Carthaginians) had completely surrounded the town and were vigorously pressing on the attack; and he concluded on reflection that the siege could bring him neither credit nor security so long as the enemy commanded the land as well as the sea. He accordingly first endeavored to relieve the Mamertines altogether from the contest by sending embassies to both the attacking forces. Neither of them received his proposals, and at last, from sheer necessity, he made up his mind to hazard an engagement, and to begin with the Syracusans.

They defeat the Syracusans.

So he led out his forces and drew them up for a fight; nor were the Syracusans backward in accepting the challenge, but descended at once to give him battle. After a long struggle Appius got the better of the enemy and chased the opposing forces right up to their intrenchments. The result of this was that Appius, after stripping the dead, retired into Messene, while Hiero (king of Syracuse), with a foreboding of the final result, waited only for nightfall to beat a hasty retreat to Syracuse.

They defeat the Carthaginians.

Next morning when Appius was assured of their flight, his confidence was strengthened, and he made up his mind to attack the Carthaginians without delay. He issued orders

Polybius i. 12.

to the soldiers accordingly to finish their preparations early, and at daybreak began his sally. Engaging the enemy, he killed a large number of them, and forced the rest to fly precipitately to the neighboring towns. These successes sufficed to raise the siege of Messene; thenceforth he scoured the territory of Syracuse and her allies with impunity, and laid it waste without finding any one to dispute the possession of the open country with him. Finally he sat down before Syracuse itself and laid siege to it.

Such was the nature and motive of the first warlike expedition of the Romans beyond the shores of Italy.

Regulus in Africa.

Appian, *Punic Wars*, 3. (For the events leading up to this invasion, see *Rome*, p. 99; *Ancient History*, p. 317.)

Early in the Sicilian war the Romans sent three hundred and fifty ships to Africa, captured many towns, and left in command of the army Atilius Regulus, who took about two hundred more towns, which gave themselves up to him on account of their hatred of the Carthaginians. Continually advancing, the Roman general ravaged the country. Thereupon the Carthaginians, considering their misfortune due to bad generalship, asked the Lacedæmonians to send them a commander.

They sent Xanthippus. Regulus, encamped in the hot season by the side of a lake, marched round it to engage the enemy. His soldiers were suffering greatly from the weight of their arms, from dust, thirst, and fatigue, and were exposed to missiles from the neighboring hills. Toward evening he came to a river which separated the two armies. This he crossed at once, for he thought in this way to terrify Xanthippus; but the Lacedæmonian, anticipating an easy victory over an enemy thus harassed and exhausted, took advantage of the night to draw up his forces and make a sudden sally from the camp. The expectation of Xanthippus was not disappointed. Of the thirty thousand men led by Regulus, a few only escaped with difficulty to the city of Aspis. All the rest were either killed or taken prisoners; and among the captives was the consul Regulus himself.

Not long afterward the Carthaginians, weary with fighting,

sent him in company with other ambassadors to Rome to obtain peace, or to return if it were not granted. But Regulus in private strongly urged the chief magistrates of Rome to continue the war, and then went back to certain torture; for the Carthaginians shut him up in a cage full of spikes and in this way put him to death.

The embassy of Regulus.

Appian, *Punic Wars*, 4.

This success was the beginning of sorrows to Xanthippus; for the Carthaginians, in order that the credit might not seem to be due to the Lacedæmonians, pretended to honor him with splendid gifts, sent galleys to convey him home to Lacedæmon, but ordered the captains of the ships to throw him and his Lacedæmonian comrades overboard. In this way he paid the penalty for his successes.

The end of Xanthippus.

(According to Polybius, Xanthippus won the victory by bringing on the battle in a plain, where the Carthaginians could use their elephants to advantage. Polybius ends his story of the battle with some wise remarks.)

This event conveys many useful lessons to a thoughtful observer. Above all, the disaster of Regulus gives the clearest possible warning that no one should feel too confident of the favors of fortune, especially in the hour of success. Here we see one who a short time before refused all pity or consideration to the fallen, brought incontinently to beg them for his own life. Again we are taught the truth of that saying of Euripides —

The value of history.

Polybius i. 35.

> One wise man's skill is worth a world in arms.

For it was one man, one brain, that defeated the numbers which were believed to be invincible and able to accomplish everything; and restored to confidence a whole city that was unmistakably and utterly ruined, and the spirits of its army which were sunk to the lowest depths of despair. I record these things in the hope of benefiting my readers. There are two roads to reformation for mankind — one through misfortunes of their own, the other through those of others: the former is the more unmistakable, the latter

is less painful. One should therefore never choose the former, for it makes reformation a matter of great difficulty and danger; but we should always look out for the latter, for thereby we can without hurt to ourselves gain a clear view of the best course to pursue. It is this which forces us to consider that the knowledge gained from the study of true history is the best of all educations for practical life. For it is history, and history alone, which without involving us in actual danger, will mature our judgment and prepare us to take right views, whatever may be the crisis or the posture of affairs.

Hamilcar Barca (the Lightning). Polybius i. 56. (For the places here mentioned, see map, *Rome*, p. 1; *Ancient History*, p. 255.)

In the eighteenth year of the war the Carthaginians appointed Hamilcar Barca general, and put the management of the fleet in his hands. He took over the command and began to ravage the Italian coast. After devastating the district of Locri and the rest of Bruttium, he sailed away with his whole fleet to the coast of Panormus and seized a place called Ercte, which lies between Eryx and Panormus on the coast, and is reputed the best situation in the district for a safe and permanent camp. For it is a mountain rising sheer on every side, standing out above the surrounding country to a considerable height. The table-land on its summit has a circumference of not less than a hundred stades, within which the soil is rich in pasture and suitable for agriculture. The sea breezes render it healthful, and it is entirely free from dangerous animals.

On the side which looks toward the sea, as well as that which faces the interior of the island, it is enclosed by inaccessible precipices; while the spaces between these parts require only slight fortifications, and of no great extent, to make them secure. On it is an eminence which serves at once as an acropolis and as a convenient tower of observation, commanding the surrounding district. It is also supplied with a harbor conveniently situated for the passage from Drepana and Lilybæum to Italy, in which is always an abundant depth of water. Finally the height can be

reached by three ways only — two from the land side and one from the sea, and all of them difficult.

His wonderful deeds.

Here Hamilcar intrenched himself. It was a bold measure; but he had no city which he could count upon as friendly, and no other hope on which he could rely; and though by so doing he placed himself in the very midst of the enemy, he nevertheless managed to involve the Romans in many struggles and dangers. To begin with, he would start from this place and ravage the seaboard of Italy as far as Cumæ; and again on shore, when the Romans had pitched a camp to overawe him, in front of the city of Panormus within about five stades of him, he harassed them in every way, and forced them to engage in numerous skirmishes for the space of nearly three years. Of these combats it is impossible to give a detailed account in writing.

On the slope of Mount Eryx.

Polybius i. 58.

Presently however Fortune, acting like a good umpire in the games, transferred him by a bold stroke from the locality just described and from the contest in which he was engaged, to a struggle of greater danger and to a locality of narrower dimensions. The Romans were occupying the summit of Eryx, and had a guard stationed at its foot. But Hamilcar managed to seize the town which lay between these two spots.

There ensued a siege by the Romans who were on the summit, supported by them with extraordinary hardihood and adventurous daring. The Carthaginians found themselves between two hostile armies, and their supplies brought to them with difficulty because they communicated with the sea at only one point and by one road; yet they held out with a determination that passes belief. Every contrivance which skill or force could sustain did they put in use against each other, as before; every imaginable privation was submitted to; surprises and pitched battles were alike tried; and finally they left the combat a drawn one . . . like men still unbroken and unconquered. . . . The two

nations engaged were like well-bred game-cocks which fight to their last gasp. You may see them often, when too weak to use their wings, yet full of pluck to the end, and striking again and again. Finally chance brings them the opportunity of once more grappling, and they hold on till one or the other of them drops dead.

241 B.C. (At last the Romans destroyed the Carthaginian fleet, whereupon Hamilcar, from his post on Mount Eryx, came to terms of peace with the enemy. Immediately a war broke out between Carthage and her unpaid mercenaries. By crushing the mutineers, Hamilcar brought this mercenary war, or "Libyan war," to an end.)

Hamilcar goes to Spain.

Polybius ii. 1. As soon as they had brought the Libyan War to a conclusion, the Carthaginians collected an army and despatched it under the command of Hamilcar to Iberia (Spain). This general took over the command of the troops, and with his son Hannibal, then nine years old, crossing by the Pillars of Hercules, set about recovering the Carthaginian possessions in Iberia. He spent nine years there, and after reducing many Iberian tribes by war or diplomacy to Carthaginian rule, he died in a manner worthy of his great achievements; for he lost his life in a battle against the most warlike and most powerful tribes. In this last fight he showed a brilliant and even reckless personal daring.

Hannibal's oath.

Rome, p. 118; *Ancient History*, p. 330. (When in his last years Hannibal was an exile at the court of Antiochus, the Seleucid king, he told how his father Hamilcar, before setting out for Spain, had led him to the altar and made him swear eternal hatred to Rome.)

"Antiochus, while I was yet an infant, my father Hamilcar when offering a sacrifice, brought me up to the altars, and made me take an oath that I would never be a friend to the Roman people. Under the obligation of this oath I carried arms against them thirty-six years; this oath when peace was made drove me from my country, and brought me an exile to your court, and should you disappoint my hopes, this oath shall guide me till I traverse every quarter

Livy xxxv. 19.

of the globe, — wherever I understand there are resources, — in order that I may find enemies of the Romans. . . . I hate the Romans and am hated by them. That I speak the truth, Hamilcar and the gods are witnesses. Whenever, therefore, you shall employ your thoughts on a plan of waging war with Rome, consider Hannibal among your firmest friends. If circumstances force you to adopt peaceful measures, employ some one else with whom to deliberate."

The character of Hannibal.

Livy xxi. 4.

(After the death of Hamilcar) Hannibal drew upon himself the eyes of the whole army. The veterans imagined that Hamilcar in his youth was restored to them. They noticed the same vigor in his looks and animation in his eye, the same features and expression of the face. He soon took care that his father should be the least consideration in winning their esteem. Never was a genius more fitted for the two most opposite duties of obeying and commanding; so that you could not easily decide whether he was dearer to the general or to the army. Hasdrubal never preferred giving the command to any other, when anything was to be done with courage and despatch; nor did the soldiers feel more confidence or boldness under any other leader. His fearlessness in meeting dangers was equalled only by his prudence in overcoming them. Toil could not exhaust his body or subdue his mind, and he could endure heat and cold alike. He ate and drank not for pleasure but only what nature required. Working day and night, he thought of sleep after finishing his labor; and then he did not seek a soft bed or quiet place, but wrapping himself in his military cloak, he would lie down amid the watches and the outposts of his army. Though he dressed as a common officer, his arms and his horses were splendid. He was by far the first and best among the horse and foot, — the foremost to advance and last to leave an engagement.

(Hanibal's brother-in-law, who for a time held chief command.)

Excessive vices counterbalanced these high virtues of the hero, — inhuman cruelty, more than Punic perfidy, no truth, no reverence for things sacred, no fear of the gods, no re-

(This is the misrepresentation of an enemy.)

spect for oaths, no sense of religion. With a character thus made up of virtues and vices, he served three years under the command of Hasdrubal without neglecting anything which one ought to do or see who was to become a great general.

His resolve.
Livy xxi. 5.

But from the day on which he was declared general (after the death of Hasdrubal), he acted as if Italy had been decreed him as his province, and the war with Rome had been committed to him. Thinking there should be no delay lest, while he wasted time, some unexpected accident might defeat him — as had happened to his father Hamilcar and afterward to Hasdrubal — he resolved to make war on the Saguntines. An attack on them would doubtless excite the Romans to arms.

Rome, p. 104 f.; *Ancient History*, p. 320 f.

He captures Saguntum.
Polybius iii. 17.

After a siege extending to the eighth month, in the course of which he endured every kind of suffering and anxiety, he finally took the town. An immense booty in money, slaves, and property fell into his hands, which he disposed of according to his original design. The money he reserved for the needs of his projected expedition. The slaves were distributed according to merit among his men, while the property was at once sent entire to Carthage. The result answered his expectations: the army was more eager for action; the home populace more ready to grant whatever he asked; and he was himself enabled by such abundant means to carry out many measures which were of service to his expedition.

The news reaches Rome.
Livy xxi. 16.

About this time the ambassadors who had returned from Carthage brought news to Rome that all appearances were hostile, and reported the destruction of Saguntum. Then such grief and pity for allies so undeservedly destroyed, and shame for not having given aid, and rage against the Carthaginians, and fear for the issue of events, as if the enemy were already at the gates, took hold of the senators. Disturbed by so many emotions, they trembled with fear instead of deliberating. For they knew that they had never before met a more spirited or warlike enemy, nor had their state ever before been so sunk in sloth and unfit for war.

(Polybius, however, does not believe that the Romans were so troubled by the news. Such stories, he says, are the gossip of the street and of the barber shop rather than history.)

The Roman embassy to Carthage.

The truth is that when the Romans heard of the disaster at Saguntum, they at once elected envoys, whom they despatched in all haste to Carthage with the offer of two alternatives, one of which appeared to the Carthaginians to involve disgrace as well as injury if they accepted it, while the other was the beginning of a great struggle and of great dangers. For one of these alternatives was the surrender of Hannibal and his staff to Rome, the other was war. When the Roman envoys arrived and declared their message to the senate, the Carthaginians listened to the proposals with indignation.

Polybius iii. 20.

The Second Punic War

To the arguments of the Carthaginians the ambassadors made no answer, except that the senior among them, in the presence of the assembly, pointed to the folds of his toga and said that in them he carried peace and war, and that he would bring out and leave with them whichever they bade him. The Carthaginian king bade him bring out whichever of the two he chose ; and upon the Roman's replying that it should be war, a majority of the senators cried out in answer that they accepted it.

War declared.

Polybius iii. 33.

(Hannibal then led his well-trained army over the Pyrenees and marched rapidly through Gaul. With the ascent of the Alps, the real difficulties of his journey began to appear.) For as long as the Carthaginians were in the plains, the chiefs of the Allobroges refrained from attacking them, through fear of their cavalry as well as of the Gauls who were escorting Hannibal.

Crossing the Alps, 218 B.C.

(A Gallic tribe east of the Rhone.)

But when the Gauls set out for home and Hannibal began to enter the mountainous region, the chiefs of the Allobroges collected large numbers of their tribe and occupied the points

Polybius iii. 50.

of vantage in advance, on the route by which Hannibal's troops were forced to make their ascent. If they had only kept their design secret, the Carthaginian army would have been entirely destroyed. As it was, their plans became known, and though they did much damage to Hannibal's army, they suffered as much themselves. For when that general learned that the natives were occupying the points of vantage, he halted and pitched his camp at the foot of the pass, and sent forward some of his Gallic guides to reconnoitre the enemy and discover their plan of operations. The order was obeyed; and he ascertained that it was the enemy's practice to keep under arms, and to guard these posts carefully during the day, but at night to retire to some town in the neighborhood.

Hannibal accordingly adapted his measures to this strategy of the enemy. He marched forward in broad daylight, and as soon as he came to the mountainous part of the road, he pitched his camp but a little way from the enemy. At nightfall he gave orders for the watch-fires to be lit; and leaving the main body of his troops in the camp and selecting the most suitable of his men, he had them armed lightly, and led them through the narrow parts of the road during the night, and seized on the spots which had been previously occupied by the enemy; for according to their custom they had abandoned these heights for the nearest town.

Fighting in the mountains.

Polybius iii. 51.

When day broke, the natives saw what had taken place, and at first desisted from their attempts; but presently the sight of the immense string of beasts of burden and of the cavalry slowly and painfully making the ascent, tempted them to attack the advancing line. They fell upon it accordingly at many points at once; and the Carthaginians suffered severe losses, not so much at the hands of the enemy as from the dangerous nature of the ground, which proved especially fatal to the horses and the beasts of burden. For as the ascent was not only narrow and rough but flanked also with

precipices, which tended at every moment to throw the line into disorder, large numbers of the pack animals were hurled down the precipices with their loads on their backs. And what added more than anything else to this sort of confusion were the wounded horses; for maddened by their wounds, they either turned round and ran into the advancing beasts of burden, or rushing furiously forward, dashed aside everything that came in their way on the narrow path, and so threw the whole line into disorder.

Hannibal wins.

Hannibal saw what was taking place; and knowing that even if they escaped this attack, they could never survive the loss of all their baggage, he took with him the men who had seized the strongholds in the night and went to the relief of the advancing line. With the advantage of charging the enemy from higher ground, he inflicted a severe loss upon them but suffered as severe a loss in his own army; for the commotion in the line now grew worse and in both directions at once, because of the shouts and struggles of the combatants. It was not till he had killed the greater number of the Allobroges, and had forced the rest to flee to their own land, that the remainder of the pack animals and the horses got slowly and with difficulty over the dangerous ground.

A town taken.

After the fight Hannibal himself rallied as many as he could, and assailed the town from which the enemy had come forth. Finding it almost deserted because the inhabitants had all been tempted out by the hope of booty, he got possession of it, and thereby he derived many advantages for the future as well as for the present. The immediate gain was a large number of horses and pack animals and men taken with them; and for future use he got a supply of corn and cattle enough for two or three days. But the most important result of all was the terror inspired in the tribes farther on, which prevented any of those who lived near the ascent from lightly venturing to meddle with him again.

They reach the summit.
Livy xxi. 35.

(After bravely facing many such difficulties and dangers) they came on the ninth day to the summit of the Alps. In making their way chiefly through trackless regions, they had often missed their course through the treachery of guides or by entering valleys at random, in their attempts to guess the route. For two days they encamped on the summit, while the soldiers, exhausted with toil and fighting, rested. Meantime several beasts of burden, which had fallen down among the rocks, reached the camp. The Pleiades were now setting, and a fall of snow caused great fear among the soldiers, who were already worn out with their many hardships.

(Toward the end of October.)

"On the ramparts of Italy."

As the standards were moved forward at daybreak, and the army proceeded slowly over ground entirely blocked with snow, weariness and despair strongly appeared in the soldiers' faces. But Hannibal, advancing in front of the standard, ordered the soldiers to halt on a certain eminence, whence they had a view far and wide. There pointing out to them Italy and the plains of the Po which extended beneath the Alpine mountains, he said, "We have surmounted the ramparts not only of Italy but also of the city of Rome. The rest of our journey will be smooth and down-hill. After one or at most a second battle, we shall hold in our power and possession the citadel and capital of Italy."

(After suffering heavy losses Hannibal reached the plain of the Po River, where he defeated the Romans in two battles. He then rested his army till spring.)

Strange happenings at Rome, 218–217 B.C.
Livy xxi. 62.

In and about Rome that winter many prodigies occurred; or, as usually happens when the minds of men are once inclined to superstition, many were reported and readily believed. As instances of these wonders it was said that an infant only six months old and of good family had called out in the herb market "Io triumphe!" that in the cattle market an ox had of his own accord climbed to the third story, and frightened thence by the noise of the occupants, had flung himself down; that ships had been clearly seen

in the sky; that the temple of Hope in the herb market had been struck by lightning; that the spear at Lanuvium had shaken itself; that a crow had flown down into the temple of Juno and alighted on the very couch; that in the territory of Amiternum figures like men dressed in white had been seen in several places at a distance, but had not come close to any one; that in Picenum it had rained stones; that at Cære the tablets for divination had diminished in size; and that in Gaul a wolf had snatched the sword from the scabbard of a soldier on guard, and had carried it off.

The battle of Lake Trasimene, 217 B.C.

(Early in the spring Hannibal crossed the Apennines into Etruria and marched along the highway toward Rome. Flaminius, one of the consuls, followed close behind with an army.)

The Carthaginians now reached a place formed by nature for an ambuscade, where Lake Trasimene comes nearest to Mount Cortona. A very narrow passage only intervenes, as though room enough had been left just for that purpose. Then a somewhat wider plain opens, and still farther some hills rise up. On these heights Hannibal pitched his camp in full view, where he posted his Spaniards and Africans under his own command. The Baleares and his other light troops he had ranged round the mountain; his cavalry he posted at the very entrance of the defile — conveniently hidden behind some rising ground — in order that when the Romans had entered, the horsemen might advance and every place be closed by the lake and the mountain. Flaminius passed the defile before it was quite daylight. He did not previously reconnoitre, though he had reached the lake the preceding day at sunset.

Livy xxii. 4.

(Slingers from the Baleares Islands.)

The Romans are surrounded.

When the troops began to spread into the wider plain, the commander saw that part only of the enemy which was opposite him; the ambuscade in his rear and overhead escaped his notice. And when Hannibal had his enemy enclosed by the lake and mountain, and surrounded by his

troops, he gave the signal for all at the same time to charge, whereupon each began to run down the nearest way. To the Romans the event was all the more sudden and unexpected because of a mist which had risen from the lake, and was settling thicker on the plain than on the ridge. For this reason the Punic troops ran down from the various heights in fair sight of one another and therefore with greater regularity.

The beginning of the fight.

As the battle-cry rose on all sides, the Romans found themselves surrounded before they could well see the enemy; and the attack on the front and flank had begun before their line could be well formed, their arms prepared for action, or their swords unsheathed.

The consul.

Livy xxii. 5.

Though all the rest were in a panic, the consul faced the peril undaunted. As the men turned toward the various shouts, they threw the line into confusion, but Flaminius marshalled them as well as time and place permitted. Wherever he came within hearing, he encouraged them, and bade them stand and fight. "We can escape," he cried, "not by vows and prayers to the gods but by courage and energy. Let us hew our way with the sword through the midst of their marshalled battalions — the less the fear the less the danger!"

Confusion.

But in the noise and tumult the men heard not his advice and command; and so far were they from knowing their own standards and ranks and position, that they hardly had enough courage to take arms and make ready for battle. Some, surprised before they could don their armor, were burdened rather than protected by it. In the thick darkness there was more use for ears than for eyes. Vainly peering in every direction, they could only hear the groans of the dying, the clash of blows upon armor, the mingled clamor of threats and fear. Some in their flight ran into bands of fighters; others renewing the struggle were turned back by crowds of runaways.

In vain the Romans charged in every direction, there

was no hope of escape; for on their flanks the mountain and lake, on the front and rear the lines of the enemy encompassed them. As they saw their only safety lay in the right hand and the sword, each man became his own leader and encourager to action, and an entirely new struggle arose, — not in a regular line of battle, with *principes*, *hastati*, and *triarii*, nor of such a sort as when the vanguard fights before the standards and the rest of the troops behind them, nor when each soldier stands in his own legion, cohort and company; chance collected them into bands; and each man's will assigned him his post, to fight in front or rear. So great was the ardor of battle, so intent were their minds upon the fray, that not one of the combatants felt an earthquake which threw down large parts of many Italian cities, turned rivers from their rapid courses, carried the sea up into rivers, and levelled mountains with a tremendous crash.

A desperate struggle.

(The three lines of heavy infantry; *Rome*, p. 45; *Ancient History*, p. 285.)

Nearly three hours the battle raged, and in every quarter fiercely; around the consul it was hottest and most determined. With the strongest of his troops he promptly brought assistance wherever he saw his men hard pressed or worried. Knowing him by his armor, the enemy attacked him furiously, while his countrymen defended him. Finally an Insubrian horseman named Ducarius, recognizing his face, said to his fellows, "Lo, this is the consul who slew our legions and laid waste our fields and cities. Now will I offer this victim to the shades of my countrymen miserably slain!" and putting spurs to his horse, he dashed through a dense throng of the enemy. First he killed the consul's armor-bearer, who had opposed himself to the attack; then he ran the consul through with a lance. The veterans, by opposing their shields, kept him from despoiling the body.

Flaminius killed.

Livy xxii. 6.

(He had defeated them and had conquered their country, 223 B.C.)

Then for the first time many took to flight. Neither lake nor mountain could now check their hurried retreat; they ran over steep and narrow ways, as though they were blind; arms and men tumbled upon one another. Finding

Flight.

nowhere else to run, many retreating first into the shallow water along the shore, plunged farther in till only their heads and shoulders reached above. Some thoughtlessly tried to escape by swimming; but as the attempt failed, they lost courage and were drowned in the deep water; or wearied to no purpose, they made their way with extreme difficulty back to the shallows, — only to be cut down by the cavalry of the enemy, who had waded into the water.

Nearly six thousand men in the van gallantly forced their way through the opposing enemy, and without knowing what was happening in the rear, escaped from the defile. Stopping on a certain height, and hearing naught but the shouts and the clash of arms, they could not through the mist discover what was the fortune of the battle.

An army destroyed.

At length the contest was decided; and when the increasing heat of the sun had dispelled the mist and cleared the air, — then in the bright light the mountains and the plains displayed the ruin of the Roman army.

This is the famous battle of Lake Trasimene, recorded among the few disasters of Rome. Fifteen thousand Romans were killed in the struggle. Ten thousand, who had scattered in flight through all Etruria, returned to the city by various roads. A thousand five hundred of the enemy perished.

(Next year Hannibal inflicted a still more terrible defeat upon the Romans at Cannæ; and though this was his last brilliant victory, he maintained himself in Italy many years. Finally he had to return to Carthage and make peace with Rome.)

201 B.C.

The greatness of Hannibal.

Polybius xi. 19.

Who could help admiring this great man's strategic skill, courage, and ability, when one looks to the length of time during which he displayed those qualities, and realizes to one's self the pitched battles, the skirmishes and sieges, the revolutions and counter-revolutions of states, the vicissitudes of fortune, and in fact the whole course of his design and its execution?

For sixteen continuous years Hannibal maintained the war with Rome in Italy, without once releasing his army from service in the field, but keeping those vast numbers under control, like a good pilot, without any sign of dissatisfaction toward himself or toward one another. This he did in spite of the fact that the troops in his service, so far from being of the same tribe, were not even of the same race. He had Libyans, Iberians, Ligurians, Celts, Phœnicians, Italians, and Greeks, who naturally had nothing in common with one another, — neither laws nor customs nor language. Yet the skill of the commander was such that these differences, so manifold and so wide, did not disturb obedience to one word of command and to a single will.

And yet circumstances were not by any means unvarying; for though the breeze of fortune set strongly in his favor, it as often blew adversely. We have therefore good ground for admiring Hannibal's display of ability in war; and we should not hesitate to say that had he reserved his attack upon the Romans until he had first subdued other parts of the world, not one of his projects would have eluded his grasp. As it was, he began with those whom he should have attacked last, and with them accordingly he began and ended his career.

The end of Hannibal.

(Some time afterward, feeling that he was not safe from Roman hatred even in his own city, Hannibal fled from Carthage and went to Antiochus, the Seleucid king, who was entering upon a war with Rome. When peace was made, Hannibal took refuge with Prusias, king of Bithynia. Some Romans under Flamininus came in pursuit, and Prusias treacherously betrayed his guest. The soldiers surrounded the house in which the great Carthaginian lodged.) Calling for the poison which he always had ready for such an event, Hannibal said to those who were with him:

"Let us relieve the Romans of their anxiety, for they think it too long to wait for the death of an old man. Flamininus will gain no great or memorable victory over one un- Livy xxxix. 51.

armed and betrayed soldier. Of what a change has taken place in the character of the Romans, this day affords abundant proof. Their fathers gave warning to Pyrrhus, their armed foe, then leading an army against them in Italy, to beware of poison. The men of this generation have sent an ambassador of consular rank to persuade Prusias villainously to murder his guest." Then imprecating curses on the head of Prusias and on his kingdom, and calling on the gods of hospitality, who were witnesses of this breach of faith, he drank the cup. This was the end of the life of Hannibal.

The Destruction and the Restoration of Carthage

The Third Punic War, 149–146 B.C.

(In 149 B.C. the Romans again made war upon Carthage; and three years later Scipio Æmilianus captured the city. Appian's story of the sack of Carthage is quoted in *Rome*, pp. 124–126.)

At the sight of the city utterly perishing amid the flames, Scipio burst into tears, and stood long reflecting on the inevitable change which awaits cities, nations, and dynasties, one and all, as it does every one of us men. This, he thought, had befallen Ilium, once a powerful city, and the once mighty empires of the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, and that of Macedonia lately so splendid. And unintentionally or purposely he quoted —

Polybius xxxix. 5.

> "The day shall be when holy Troy shall fall,
> And Priam, lord of spears, and Priam's folk."
>
> — *Iliad*, VI. 448.

And on my asking boldly — for I had been his tutor — what he meant by these words, he did not name Rome distinctly, but was evidently fearing for her, from this sight of the mutability of human affairs.

Another still more remarkable saying of his I may record. (When he had given the order for firing the town) he immediately turned round and grasped me by the hand

and said, "Polybius, it is a grand thing, but, I know not how, I feel a terror and dread lest some one should one day give the same order about my own native city."

Carthage rebuilt.

Rome, p. 158.

Appian, *Punic Wars*, 136.

Some time afterward in the tribunate of Gaius Gracchus uprisings occurred on account of scarcity, and it was decided to send six thousand colonists to Africa. When they were laying out the land for this purpose in the vicinity of Carthage, all the boundary lines were torn down and destroyed by wolves. Then the senate put a stop to the settlement. At a still later time Cæsar, who afterward became dictator for life, pursued Pompey to Egypt, and Pompey's friends from there to Africa. When on this occasion he was encamped near the site of Carthage, it is said that he was troubled in a dream in which he saw a whole army weeping, and that he immediately made a memorandum in writing that Carthage should be colonized. Not long afterward he returned to Rome; and while making a distribution of lands to the poor, he arranged to send some of them to Carthage and some to Corinth. But he was assassinated shortly afterward by his enemies in the Roman senate, and his son Augustus, finding this memorandum, built the present Carthage, not on the site of the old city but very near it, in order to avoid the ancient curse. I have ascertained that he sent about three thousand colonists from Rome and that the rest came from the neighboring country. In this way the Romans took Africa from the Carthaginians, destroyed Carthage, and repeopled it a hundred and two years after its destruction.

Summary of conquests.

(In the period extending from the opening of the First Punic War to the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus — 264–133 B.C. — Rome conquered many other nations besides the Carthaginians, and extended her sway and protectorate from the Pillars of Hercules eastward to Mount Taurus and the Nile. See map for chs. v, vi, in *Rome*, or in part III of *Ancient History*.

STUDIES

1. Do you suppose that the Romans really knew how Carthage was founded ?

2. Contrast the Carthaginians with the Romans in (1) government, (2) military resources and power, (3) skill and physical strength, (4) honesty.

3. Give an account of the seizure of Messene and of Rhegium. What do you think of the conduct of the Romans toward the captors of these two cities respectively ? Were the Romans doing right in aiding the Mamertines ?

4. Give Appian's account of Regulus and Xanthippus. Compare the account given in *Rome*, p. 100; *Ancient History* p. 317 f. (from Polybius). What is Polybius' estimate of the value of history as illustrated by the fate of these two generals ?

5. From the maps (*Rome*, pp. 1, 95; *Ancient History*, pp. 255, 315) describe the location of Sicily, Ecnomus, Messene, Mount Ercte, Panormus, Mount Eryx, Lilybæum, Drepana, the Ægatian Islands, Carthaginian Libya, and Spain (Iberia).

6. Write a biography of Hamilcar Barca, including a description of his character.

7. Write a biography of Hannibal, and describe his character. Whose character in the Second Punic War was the more admirable, that of Hannibal or that of the Romans ? Would the success of Hannibal have benefited the world ?

8. Give an account of Flaminius.

9. What led to the Roman colonization of Carthage ?

CHAPTER VI

Government and Character

Second Period of the Republic — Internal History (264–133 B.C.)

THE GOVERNMENT

The three factors or "estates" of the government.

Polybius vi. 11.

The Roman government has three factors, each of them possessing sovereign power; and their respective shares of power in the whole state have been regulated with such scrupulous regard to equality and balance that no one can say for certain, not even a native, whether the constitution as a whole is an aristocracy or democracy or despotism. And no wonder: for if we confine our observation to the power of the consuls, we should be inclined to regard it as despotic; if to that of the senate, as aristocratic; and if finally one looks at the power possessed by the people, it would seem a clear case of democracy. What the exact powers of these several parts were, and still with slight modifications are, I will now state.

I. The consuls.

Polybius vi. 12.

Before leading out the legions, the consuls remain at Rome and are supreme masters of the administration. All other magistrates except the tribunes (of the plebs) are under them and take their orders. They introduce foreign ambassadors to the senate, bring before it matters requiring deliberation, and see to the execution of its decrees. If again there are any matters of state which require ratification by the people, it is their business to attend to these affairs, to summon the popular meetings, to bring the proposals before the assembly, and to carry out the decrees of the majority.

Their powers in war.

In the preparations for war, too, and briefly in the entire management of a campaign, they have all but absolute power. It is their right to impose on the allies such levies as they think good, to appoint the military tribunes, to make up the roll of soldiers, and to select those who are suitable. Besides they have absolute power of inflicting punishment on all who are under their command while in active service; and they have authority to expend as much of the public money as they choose, for they are accompanied by a quæstor who is entirely at their orders. A survey of these powers would in fact justify our describing the constitution as despotic, — a clear case of royal government. Nor will it affect the truth of my description, if any of the institutions I have described are changed in our time, or in that of our posterity. The same remarks apply to what follows.

II. The senate.

Polybius vi. 13.

The senate first of all controls the treasury, and regulates the receipts and disbursements alike. For the quæstors cannot issue any public money for the various departments of the state without a decree of the senate, except for the service of the consuls. The senate controls also what is by far the largest and most important expenditure, — that which is made by the censors every *lustrum* for the repair or construction of public buildings; this money cannot be obtained by the censors except by the grant of the senate.

(*Lustrum*, lustration, the ceremony of purification at the close of the census-taking; hence the period from one census to another.)

Its powers in Italy.

Similarly all crimes committed in Italy requiring a public investigation, such as treason, conspiracy, poisoning, or wilful murder, are in the hands of the senate. Besides if any individual or state among the Italian allies requires a controversy to be settled, a penalty to be assessed, help or protection to be afforded, — all this is the province of the senate. Or again outside Italy, if it is necessary to send an embassy to reconcile warring communities, or to remind them of their duty, or sometimes to impose requisitions upon them, or to receive their submission, or finally to proclaim war against them, — this too is the business of the senate.

In like manner the reception given to foreign ambassadors

at Rome, and the answers to be returned to them, are decided by the senate. With such business the people have nothing to do. Consequently if one were staying at Rome when the consuls were not in town, one would imagine the constitution to be a complete aristocracy; and this has been the idea entertained by many Greeks, and by many kings as well, from the fact that nearly all the business they had with Rome was settled by the senate.

Its powers in foreign affairs.

After this discussion one would naturally be inclined to ask what part in the constitution is left for the people, when the senate has these various functions, especially the control of the receipts and expenditures of the treasury, and when the consuls again have absolute power over the details of military preparations and an absolute authority in the field? There is however a part left for the people, and it is a most important one. For the people are the sole fountain of honor and of punishment; and it is by these two powers and these alone that dynasties and constitutions and, in a word, human society are held together. For where the distinction between them is not sharply drawn both in theory and practice, there no undertaking can be properly administered, — as indeed we might expect when good and bad are held in exactly the same honor.

III. The people.

Polybius vi. 14.

The people then are the only court to decide matters of life and death; and even in cases where the penalty is money, if the sum to be assessed is sufficiently serious, and especially when the accused have held the higher magistracies. And in regard to this arrangement there is one point deserving especial commendation and record. Men who are on trial for their lives at Rome, while sentence is in process of being voted, — if one tribe only whose vote is needed to ratify the sentence has not voted, — have the privilege of openly departing and condemning themselves to voluntary exile. Such men are safe at Naples or Præneste or at Tibur, or at other town with which this arrangement has been duly ratified on oath.

Their power in trials.

In elections, legislation, and foreign affairs.

Again, it is the people who bestow offices — the most honorable rewards of virtue — on the deserving. They have too the absolute power of passing or repealing laws; and most important of all, it is the people who deliberate on the questions of peace or war. And when provisional terms are made for alliance, suspension of hostilities, or treaties, it is the people who ratify or reject them.

These considerations again would lead one to say that the chief power in the state is the people's, and that the constitution is a democracy.

Relations of these three parts, or estates, to one another.

Such then is the distribution of power among the several parts of the government. I must now show how these several parts can oppose or support one another as they choose.

The consul dependent (*a*) on the senate.

Polybius vi. 15.

When the consul has started on an expedition with the powers I have described, he is to all appearance absolute in the administration of the business in hand; still he has need of the support of both the people and the senate, and without them is quite unable to bring the matter to a successful conclusion. For it is plain that he must have supplies sent to his legions from time to time; but without a decree of the senate they can be supplied with neither corn nor clothes nor pay, so that all the plans of the commander must be futile, if the senate is resolved either to shrink from the danger or hamper him. And again whether or not a consul shall bring any undertaking to a conclusion, depends entirely upon the senate, for it has absolute authority at the end of the year to send another consul to supersede him or to continue the existing one in his command.

Again even to the successes of the generals, the senate has power to add distinction and glory, and on the other hand to obscure their merits and lower their credit. For these high achievements are brought in tangible form before the eyes of the citizens by what are called triumphs. But these triumphs the commanders cannot celebrate with proper pomp, or in some cases at all, unless the senate

concurs and grants the necessary money. As for the people, the consuls are especially obliged to court their favor, however distant from home may be the field of their operations; for it is the people, as I have said before, who ratify or refuse to ratify, terms of peace and treaties; and when laying down their office, the consuls have to give an account of their administration before the people. Therefore in no case is it safe for the consuls to neglect either the senate or the good-will of the people.

(*b*) On the people.

As for the senate, which possesses the immense power I have described, in the first place it is obliged in public affairs to take the multitude into account, and to respect the wishes of the people. It cannot execute the penalty for offences against the republic which are punishable with death, unless the people first ratify its decrees. Similarly even in matters which directly affect the senators — for instance, in the case of a law diminishing the senate's traditional authority, or depriving the senators of any dignities and offices, or even cutting down their property — in such cases, too, the people have the sole power of passing or rejecting the law. But most important is the fact that if the tribunes interpose their veto, the senate not only is unable to pass a decree, but cannot even hold a meeting, whether formal or informal. Now the tribunes are always bound to carry out the decree of the people and above all to have a regard for their wishes; therefore for all these reasons the senate stands in awe of the multitude, and cannot neglect the feelings of the people.

The senate dependent on the people.

Polybius vi. 16.

In like manner the people on their part are far from being independent of the senate, and are bound collectively and individually to take its wishes into account. For contracts, too numerous to reckon, are given out by the censors in all parts of Italy for the repair or construction of public buildings. There is also the collection of revenue from many rivers, harbors, gardens, mines, and land — everything, in a word, which comes under the control of the Roman govern-

The people dependent (*a*) on the senate.

Polybius vi. 17.

ment; and in all these works the people at large are engaged, so that there is scarcely a man, I may say, who is not interested either as a contractor or as an employee in the works. For some purchase the contracts from the censors for themselves; others go partners with them, whereas others give security for these contractors or actually pledge their property to the treasury for them.

Over all these transactions the senate has absolute control. It can grant an extension of time; and in case of an unforeseen accident it can relieve the contractors from a portion of their obligation or release them from it altogether, if they are absolutely unable to fulfil it. And there are many details in which the senate can inflict great hardships, or on the other hand, grant great indulgences to the contractors, for in every case the appeal is to it. But the most important point of all is that the judges are taken from its members in the majority of trials, whether public or private, in which the charges are heavy. Consequently all citizens are much at its mercy; and being awed by the uncertainty as to when they may need its aid, are cautious about resisting or actively opposing its will. And for a similar reason men do not rashly resist the wishes of the consuls, because one or all may become subject to their absolute authority on a campaign.

(δ) On the consuls.

The result of this power of the several estates for mutual help or harm is a union sufficiently firm for all emergencies, and the best possible form of government. For whenever any danger from without compels these estates to unite and work together, the strength which is developed by the state is so extraordinary that everything required is unfailingly carried out by the eager rivalry of all classes to devote their whole minds to the need of the hour, and to make sure that any resolution agreed upon should not fail for want of promptness; while each individual, alike in private and public, works for the accomplishment of the business in hand. The peculiar constitution accordingly makes the

The harmony and strength of the constitution.

Polybius vi. 18.

state irresistible, and certain of obtaining whatever it attempts.

The correction of abuses.

Nay even when these external alarms are past, and the people are enjoying their good fortune and the fruits of their victories, and as usually happens, are growing corrupt through flattery and idleness, so as to show a tendency to violence and arrogance, — it is in these circumstances more than ever that the constitution is seen to possess within itself the power of correcting abuses. For when any one of the three estates becomes puffed up, and shows an inclination to be contentious and unduly encroaching, the dependency of all three upon one another, and the possibility of limiting and thwarting one another must certainly check this tendency. The proper balance is maintained therefore by holding the impulsiveness of one part under fear of the others.

Encouragements to bravery.

Polybius vi. 39.

An excellent plan is adopted for inducing young soldiers to brave danger. When an engagement has taken place and any of the soldiers have shown remarkable bravery, the consul summons an assembly of the legion, puts forward those who he thinks have distinguished themselves in any way, and first compliments each of them individually on his gallantry, and mentions any other distinction he may have earned in the course of his life, and then presents him with gifts : to the man who has wounded an enemy, a spear ; to the man who has killed one and stripped his armor, a cup if he be in the infantry, horse-trappings if in the cavalry. Originally, however, the only present was a spear. This gift is not offered in the event of their having wounded or stripped any of the enemy in a set engagement or in the storming of a town ; but in skirmishes and other occasions in which they have exposed themselves to danger voluntarily and deliberately, without there being any positive necessity for so doing.

The mural crown.

In the capture of a town those who are first to mount the walls are presented with a golden crown. So too those

who have defended and saved any citizens or allies are distinguished by the consul with definite rewards; and those who have been saved present their preservers voluntarily with a crown; or if not, they are compelled to do so by the tribunes (of the plebs). The man thus saved, too, reverences his preserver through life as a father, and is bound to act toward him in every respect as to a father.

The civic crown.

Robes of honor and trophies.

By such incentives those who stay at home are stirred to a noble rivalry and emulation in confronting danger, no less than those who actually hear and see what takes place. For the recipients of such rewards not only enjoy great glory among their comrades in the army and an immediate reputation at home, but after their return they are marked men in all solemn festivals; for they alone who have been thus distinguished by the consuls for bravery are allowed to wear robes of honor on such occasions; and moreover they place the spoils they have taken in the most conspicuous parts of their houses as visible tokens and proofs of their valor. No wonder that a people whose rewards and punishments are allotted with such care and received with such feelings should be brilliantly successful in war.

The funeral oration.

Polybius vi. 53.

Whenever one of their illustrious men dies, as a part of the funeral the body with all its adornments is carried into the Forum to the rostra, as a raised platform there is called. Sometimes the body is propped upright upon it so as to be easily seen, or more rarely it is laid upon the rostra. The speaker is the son, if the deceased has left one of full age who is present at the time; or, failing a son, one of his kinsmen mounts the rostra, while all the people are standing round, and delivers a speech concerning the virtues of the deceased and the successful exploits performed by him in his lifetime. By these measures the people are reminded of what has been done and made to see it with their own eyes — not only those persons who were engaged in the actual transactions but those also who were not. Their sympathies are so deeply moved that the loss appears not

to be confined to the actual mourners, but to be a public one affecting the whole community.

The masks (*imagines*).

After the burial and all the usual ceremonies are performed, they place the likeness of the deceased in the most conspicuous spot in the house and surmount it by a wooden canopy or shrine. This likeness consists of a mask made to represent the deceased with remarkable fidelity both in form and in color. These likenesses they adorn with great care, and display them at public sacrifices. And when any illustrious member of the family dies, they carry these masks to the funeral, putting them on men whom they think as near like the originals as possible in height and other personal peculiarities. And these substitutes assume clothes according to the rank of the person represented: if he was a consul or a prætor, a toga with purple stripes; if a censor, whole purple; if he had also celebrated a triumph or performed any exploit of that kind, a toga embroidered with gold. These representatives themselves ride in chariots, while the fasces and axes and all the other customary insignia of the particular offices lead the way, according to the dignity of the rank enjoyed by the deceased in his lifetime. On arriving at the rostra they all take their seats on ivory chairs in their order.

Rome, p. 27; *Ancient History*, p. 273.

There could not easily be a more inspiring spectacle than this for a young man of noble ambitions and virtuous aspirations. For can we imagine any one unmoved at the sight of all the likenesses collected together of the men who have earned glory, all as it were living and breathing? Or what could be a more glorious spectacle?

The praise of departed heroes.

The speaker over the body about to be buried, after finishing the praise of this particular person, starts upon the others whose representatives are present; he begins with the most ancient, and recounts the successes and achievements of each. By this means the glorious memory of brave men is continually renewed; the fame of those who have performed any noble deed is never allowed to die; and the renown of those who have done good service to their country becomes a mat-

Polybius vi. 54.

ter of common knowledge to the multitude and a part of the heritage of posterity. But the chief benefit of the ceremony is that it inspires young men to shrink from no exertion for the general welfare, in the hope of obtaining the glory that awaits the brave.

And what I say is confirmed by this fact. Many Romans have volunteered to decide a whole battle by a single combat; not a few have deliberately accepted certain death, some in time of war to secure the safety of the rest, some in time of peace to preserve the safety of the commonwealth. There have also been instances of men in office putting their own sons to death, in defiance of every custom and law, because they rated the interests of their country higher than those of natural ties even with their nearest and dearest. There are many stories of this kind, related by many men in Roman history.

Cf. p. 46.

Cf. p. 73.

Religion and Morals

Value of religion.

What in other nations is looked upon as a reproach — I mean a scrupulous fear of the gods — is, I believe, the very thing which keeps the Roman commonwealth together. To such an unusual height is this carried among them in both private and public business that nothing could exceed it. Many persons might think this unaccountable; but in my opinion their object is to use it as a check upon the common people. If it were possible to form a state wholly of philosophers, such a custom would perhaps be unnecessary. But seeing that every multitude is fickle and full of lawless desires, unreasoning anger, and violent passion, the only resource is to keep them in check by mysterious terrors and scenic effects of this sort. Therefore, to my mind, the ancients were not acting without purpose or at random when they brought in among the vulgar those notions about the gods and the belief in the punishment in Hades; much rather do I think that men in these times are acting rashly and foolishly in rejecting them.

(For the beginnings of scepticism, which prevailed among the Greeks of this age, see *Greece*, p. 218 ff.)

Honesty.

This is the reason why, apart from anything else, Greek statesmen, if intrusted with a single talent, though protected by ten checking clerks, as many seals, and twice as many witnesses, yet cannot be induced to keep faith; whereas among the Romans in their magistracies and embassies, men have the handling of a great amount of money, and yet from pure respect to their oath keep their faith intact. And again, in other nations it is a rare thing to find a man who keeps his hands out of the public purse and is entirely pure in such matters; but among the Romans it is a rare thing to detect a man in the act of committing a crime.

A religious vow.

(On entering upon an important war or in a critical battle, it was customary for the Romans to vow sacrifices and festivals to the gods, or sometimes a new temple to one of them, in the event of success. When beginning the war with Antiochus one of the consuls accordingly made the following vow:)

Livy xxxvi. 2.

"If the war which the people have ordered to be undertaken against King Antiochus shall be concluded agreeably to the wishes of the senate and the people of Rome, then, O Jupiter, through ten successive days the Roman people will exhibit the Great Games in honor of thee, and offerings shall be presented at all the shrines of such value as the senate shall direct. Whatever magistrates shall celebrate those games, and at whatever time and place, let the celebration be deemed proper, and the offerings rightly and duly made."

(Games consisted of boxing, dancing, chariot races in the Circus, etc. The Great Games were in fulfilment of a vow.)

Increasing superstition.

Livy xxv. 1.

As the war (with Hannibal) lengthened, and the feelings no less than the circumstances of men changed with the ebb and flow of Roman fortune, the citizens were seized with so great a passion for superstitious customs, mostly from foreign countries, that either the people or the gods appeared to have undergone a sudden change. And now the Roman rites were falling into disuse, not only in private but in public as well.

Rome, p. 149; *Ancient History*, p. 347.

In the Forum and in the Capitol were crowds of women

sacrificing and offering up prayers to the gods in modes unusual in this country. A low class of sacrificers and seers had enslaved men's understanding. This class was recruited from the country people, whom want and terror had driven into the city; for the fields were uncultivated during the long war, and suffered from the incursions of the enemy. Others joined the class in order to take advantage of ignorant people, and carried on their profitable trade like a legal and customary business.

Attempts to restrain superstition.

At first good men privately expressed the indignation they felt at these proceedings; but afterward the mischief was reported to the fathers, and became a matter of public complaint. The ædiles and the three executioners of criminals were severely reprimanded by the senate for not preventing this nuisance; but when these officials attempted to remove from the Forum the crowd of persons thus employed, and to overthrow the preparations for the sacred rites, they narrowly escaped personal injury.

As it was now evident that the evil was too powerful to be checked by inferior magistrates, the senate commissioned Marcus Atilius, the city prætor, to rid the people of these superstitions. He called an assembly, in which he read the decree of the senate and gave notice that all persons who had any books of divination, or forms of prayer, or any written system of sacrificing, should deliver all the aforesaid books and writings to him before the calends of April; and that no person should sacrifice in any public or consecrated place according to new or foreign rites.

(The calends are the first day of the month.)

The Bacchantes.

(These measures were successful; but some years afterward the state was troubled by the secret societies of the Bacchantes — worshippers of Bacchus.) If any novices in these societies were less patient in submitting to dishonor, or more averse to the commission of crime, they were sacrificed as victims. To think nothing unlawful was the grand maxim of their religion. As if bereft of reason, the men uttered prophecies with frantic contortions of their bodies.

Livy xxxix. 13.

The women, dressed as Bacchantes, with hair dishevelled and carrying torches, ran down to the Tiber; there dipping their torches in the water, the women drew them up again with the flame unextinguished, composed as they were of native sulphur and charcoal. Those associates whom the machines laid hold of, and dragged from their view into secret caves, they said were carried off by the gods. These victims were such as refused to take the oath of the society or to associate in their crimes or to submit to pollution. The number of persons in these societies was very great now, almost a second state in themselves, and among them were many men and women of noble families. During the last two years it had been a rule that no person above the age of twenty should be initiated; for the societies sought people of such age as made them more liable to suffer deception and personal abuse.

Rome, p. 148; *Ancient History*, p. 347.

(Mechanical devices for causing persons to disappear from the meetings.)

Increasing luxury.

(Probably the writer has exaggerated the immoral side of these societies. However that may be, the government took effective measures for destroying them. But during the wars of Rome in the East, Greek and Oriental luxuries came into the city in spite of all that good men could do. Soldiers, returning from Greece), first brought to Rome gilded couches, rich tapestry with hangings, and other works of the loom; and what were then deemed magnificent kinds of furniture, single-footed tables and buffets. At entertainments likewise were introduced female players on the harp and timbrel, with buffoons for the diversion of the guests. Their meats began to be prepared with greater care and cost; the cook, whom the ancients considered the meanest of their slaves in both estimation and use, became highly valuable, and what was considered a servile office began to be looked upon as an art.

Livy xxxix. 6.

Artistic taste.

(Although the Romans adopted the luxuries of the East, their taste remained coarse; they took no pleasure in artistic musical entertainments, but preferred the noise and confusion of mock battles. For instance) Lucius Anicius, who

Polybius xxx. 14.

had been prætor and had gained a victory over the Illyrians, returned to Rome with their king Genthius and his children as prisoners. While celebrating his triumph, Anicius did a very ridiculous thing. He sent for the most famous artists from Greece, and after building an immense theatre in the Circus, he brought all the flute-players on the stage together . . . the most celebrated of the day. He placed them on the stage with the chorus, and bade them all play at once.

But when they struck up the tune accompanied by appropriate movements, he sent to them to say that they were not playing well, and must put more excitement into it. At first they did not know what to make of this order, until one of the lictors showed them that they must form themselves into two companies and facing round, advance against each other as though in battle. The flute-players caught the idea at once, and adopting a motion suitable to their own wild strains, produced a scene of utter confusion.

They made the middle group of the chorus face round upon the two extreme groups; and blowing with inconceivable violence and discordance, the flute-players led these groups against each other. Meanwhile with violent stamping that shook the stage, the members of the chorus rushed against those who were opposite, and then faced round and retired. But when one of the chorus, with dress girt up, turned round on the spur of the moment and raised his hands, like a boxer, in the face of the flute-player who was approaching, then the spectators clapped their hands and cheered loudly.

While this sort of sham fight was going on, two dancers were brought into the orchestra to the sound of music; and four boxers, accompanied by trumpeters and clarion players, mounted the stage. The effect of these various contests all going on together was indescribable. But if I should speak about their tragic actors, some would think I was merely jesting.

Scipio Africanus

Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus.

Polybius x. 3.

(In the whole period of the Punic wars the most eminent Roman was Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal.) That Scipio was beneficent and high-minded is acknowledged; but that he was acute, sober, and earnest in the pursuit of his aims no one will admit, except those who have lived with him and have seen his character, so to speak, in broad daylight. Such a one was Gaius Lælius, who took part in everything Scipio did or said from boyhood to the day of his death; and Lælius it was who convinced me of this truth, because what he said appeared to me to be likely in itself and in harmony with the achievements of Scipio.

His first exploit.

Rome, p. 107; *Ancient History*, p. 322.

Lælius told me that Publius achieved his first brilliant exploit when Scipio the father fought the cavalry engagement with Hannibal near the Po. The young man was then, as it seems, eighteen years of age and on his first campaign. His father had given him a squadron of picked cavalry for his protection; but when in the course of the battle he saw his father surrounded by the enemy, with only two or three horsemen near him, and dangerously wounded, he first tried to cheer on his own squadron to go to the father's assistance, but when he found his troops cowed by the numbers of the surrounding enemy, it seems that he plunged by himself with reckless courage into the midst of the enemy, whereupon his comrades, too, were forced to charge, so that the enemy were overawed and opened their ranks to let the Romans pass; and Publius the Elder, thus unexpectedly saved, was the first, in the hearing of the whole army, to address his son as his preserver. Gaining a reputation for bravery by this exploit, Scipio ever afterward freely exposed himself to every sort of personal danger, whenever his country rested her hope of safety on him. And this is not the conduct of a general who trusts to luck, but of one who has a clear head.

He wishes to be ædile.

Polybius x. 4.

Afterward his elder brother Lucius was a candidate for the ædileship, which is about the most honorable office open to a young man at Rome. As it was customary for two patricians to be appointed, and as there were many candidates, for some time he did not venture to stand for the same office as his brother. But when the day of election drew near, he inferred from the demeanor of the people that his brother would easily obtain the office; and observing that his own popularity with the multitude was very great, he made up his mind that his brother would be successful if only they both worked together as candidates. He resolved therefore upon the following plan of action.

His mother's consent.

His mother was going round to the temples and sacrificing to the gods in behalf of his brother, and was altogether in a state of anxiety as to the result. She was the only parent whose wishes he had to consult; for his father was then on a voyage to Iberia, having been appointed to command in a war there. The young man therefore said to his mother that he had seen the same dream twice, — "I thought I was coming home from the Forum after being elected ædile with my brother, and you met us at the door and threw your arms around us and kissed us." Scipio's mother with true womanly feeling exclaimed, "Oh that I might see that day!" He replied, "Do you wish us to try?" Upon her assenting under the impression that he would not venture, but was only jesting on the spur of the moment — for of course he was quite a young man — he begged her to prepare him at once a white toga, such as is customary for candidates to wear.

How he was elected.

Polybius x. 5.

His mother thought no more about it; but Publius in his white toga went to the Forum before she was awake. His boldness as well as his earlier popularity won him a brilliant reception from the people; and when he advanced to the spot assigned for candidates, and took his place by the side of his brother, the people not only invested him with the

office, but his brother also for his sake; and both brothers returned home ædiles elect.

When the news was brought suddenly to their mother, she rushed in the utmost delight to meet them at the door, and kissed the young men in an ecstasy of joy. All accordingly who had heard of the dream believed that Publius had conversed with the gods, not merely in his sleep but rather in a waking vision and by day. In point of fact there was no dream at all; Scipio was kind, open-hearted, and courteous, and by these means had won the favor of the multitude.

Elected proconsul for Spain.

A day was fixed accordingly for choosing a general for Spain. As nobody offered himself, the alarm was greatly increased, and a gloomy silence took possession of the assembly. Finally Publius Cornelius Scipio, — son of that Publius Cornelius who had lost his life in Spain, — still a young man only twenty-four years of age, but reputed discreet and high-minded, advanced and made an impressive discourse concerning his father and uncle, and after lamenting their fate, said that he was the only member of the family left to be the avenger of his kinsmen and of his country. He spoke copiously and vehemently, like one inspired, promising to subdue not only Spain but Carthage and Africa in addition. To many this seemed like youthful boasting, but he revived the spirits of his hearers; for those who are cast down are cheered by promises. They chose him general in the expectation that he would do something worthy of his high spirit. The older men said that this was not high spirit but foolhardiness.

Appian, *Wars in Spain*, 18.

(This is not strictly true.)

When Scipio heard this gossip, he called the assembly together again, and repeated what he had said before, declaring that his youth would be no impediment; but he added that if any of his elders wished to assume the task, he would willingly yield it to them. When nobody offered to take it, they praised and admired him still more. He set forth with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse; for they did not allow him to take a larger force while Hannibal

was ravaging Italy. He received money and apparatus of various kinds and twenty-eight war-ships, with which he proceeded to Spain.

Scipio Æmilianus

Publius Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus.

Polybius xxxii. 9.

As the course of my narrative and the events of the time have drawn our attention to the family of the Scipios, I wish to carry out fully for the sake of students what was left as a mere promise in my previous book. I promised then that I would explain the origin, the rise, and the unusually early glory of the reputation of Scipio (Æmilianus), and also how it came about that Polybius became so attached to him and so intimate with him, that the fame of their friendship and constant companionship was not merely confined to Italy and Greece, but became known also to more remote nations. The acquaintance began in a loan of some books and a conversation about them. But as the intimacy went on, and the Achæan hostages were being distributed among the various cities, Fabius and Scipio, the sons of Lucius Æmilius Paulus, exerted all their influence with the prætor that Polybius might be allowed to remain in Rome. This was granted; and the intimacy was becoming more and more close when the following incident occurred.

Rome, p. 147.

His confession to Polybius.

One day when all three were coming out of the house of Fabius, it happened that Fabius left them to go to the Forum, and that Polybius went in another direction with Scipio. As they were walking along, Scipio in a quiet and subdued voice and with the blood mounting to his cheeks asked:

"Why is it, Polybius, that though I and my brother eat at the same table, you address all your questions and explanations to him, and pass me over altogether? Of course you too have the same opinion of me as I hear the rest of the city has. For I am considered by everybody, I hear, to be a mild weak person, and far removed from the true Roman character and habits, because I do not care for

pleading in the law courts. And they say the family I came of requires a different kind of representative, and not the sort that I am. That is what annoys me most."

Polybius was taken aback by the young man's speech, — for he was only eighteen, — and said:

Polybius becomes his friend and adviser.

"In heaven's name, Scipio, don't say such things, or take into your head such an idea. It is not from any want of appreciation of you, or from any intention of slighting you, that I have acted in this way, far from it! It is merely because your brother is the elder that I begin and end my remarks with him, and address my explanations and counsels to him, in the belief that you share the same opinions. Polybius xxxii. 10.

"I am delighted, however, to hear you say now that you appear to yourself to be somewhat less spirited than is becoming to members of your family; for you show by this remark that you have a really high spirit, and I should gladly devote myself to helping you to speak and act in a way worthy of your ancestors.

"As for learning, to which I see you and your brother devoting yourselves at present with so much earnestness and zeal, you will find plenty of people to help you both; for I see that a large number of such men from Greece are now finding their way into Rome. But as to points which you say are just now vexing you, I think you will not find any one more fitted to support and assist you than myself."

The inspiration of Scipio's life.

While Polybius was still speaking, the young man seized his right hand with both of his, and pressing it warmly, said:

"Oh that I might see the day on which you would devote your first attention to me, and join your life with mine. From that moment I shall think myself worthy both of my family and of my ancestors."

Polybius was partly delighted at the sight of the young man's enthusiasm and affection, and partly embarrassed by the thought of the high position of the family and the wealth of its members. From the hour of this mutual confidence,

however, the young man never left the side of Polybius, but regarded his society as his first and dearest object.

His pure character.

Polybius xxxii. 11.

From that time forward they continually gave each other practical proof of an affection which recalled the relationship of father and son, or of kinsmen of the same blood. The first impulse and ambition of a noble kind with which he was inspired was the desire to maintain a character for chastity, and to be superior to the standard observed in that respect among his contemporaries. This was a glory which, great and difficult as it generally is, was not hard to gain at that period in Rome, owing to the general deterioration of morals. . . .

Rome, p. 121; *Ancient History*, p. 331.

This dissoluteness, as it were, burst into a flame at this period: in the first place, from the prevalent idea that, owing to the destruction of the Macedonian monarchy, they had now secured universal dominion beyond dispute; and in the second place, from the immense difference made both in private wealth and in splendor by the importation of the riches of Macedonia into Rome.

Scipio, however, set his heart on a different path in life; and by a steady resistance to his appetites, and by conforming his whole conduct to a consistent and unchanging standard, in about five years after this conversation secured a general recognition of his character for goodness and purity.

His generosity.

Polybius xxxii. 12.

His next object was to cultivate lofty sentiments in regard to money, and to maintain a higher standard of generosity than other people. In this respect he had an excellent start in his association with his own father — Lucius Æmilius; but he had also good natural impulses toward the right; and chance contributed much to his success in this particular aim. For he first lost his adoptive father's mother, who was the sister of his own father Lucius, and wife of his adoptive grandfather, Scipio the Great. She left a large fortune, to which he was heir, and which afforded him the first opportunity of giving proof of his principles. Æmilia, for that was

this lady's name, was accustomed to attend the women's processions in great state, as one who shared in the life and high fortune of Scipio. For besides the magnificence of her dress and carriage, the baskets, cups, and such utensils for the sacrifice, which were carried in her train on great occasions, were all of silver and gold; and the number of maid-servants and other domestics that made up her train was in proportion to this splendor.

The matrons bless him.

All this establishment, immediately after Æmilia's funeral, Scipio presented to his own mother, who had long before been divorced by his father Lucius, and was badly off, considering the splendor of her birth. She had therefore in previous years refrained from taking part in grand public processions; but now as there chanced to be an important state sacrifice, she appeared surrounded with all the splendor and wealth which had once been Æmilia's, using among other things the same pair of mules, drivers, and carriage.

The ladies therefore who saw it were much impressed by the kindness and liberality of Scipio, and all raised their hands to heaven and prayed for blessings upon him. This act would indeed have been thought honorable elsewhere, but at Rome it was quite astonishing; for there no one ever thinks of giving any of his private property to any one if he can help it. This was the beginning of Scipio's reputation for nobility of character, and it spread very widely; for women are talkative and prone to exaggeration when they feel warmly.

His kindness to his aunts.

Polybius xxxii. 13.

The next instance was his conduct to the daughters of the great Scipio, sisters to his adoptive father. When he took the inheritance, he was bound to pay them their portion. For their father had agreed to give each of his two daughters a marriage portion of fifty talents. Half this sum their mother paid down at once to their husbands, but left the other half undischarged when she died. Now the Roman law enjoins the payment of money due women as

dowry in three annual instalments, the personal outfit having been first paid within ten months according to custom.

A scene at the bank.

But Scipio instructed his banker to pay each the twenty-five talents at once, within the ten months. When therefore Tiberius Gracchus and Scipio Nasica, the husbands of these ladies, called on the banker at the expiration of the ten months, and asked whether Scipio had given him any instructions as to the money, he told them they might have it at once, and proceeded to enter the transfer of twenty-five talents to each. They then said he had made a mistake, for they had no claim on the whole as yet, but only on a third according to law; and when the banker answered that such were his instructions from Scipio, they could not believe him, and went to call on the young man, supposing him to have made a mistake. And indeed their feelings were natural; for at Rome, so far from paying fifty talents three years in advance, no one will pay a single talent before the appointed day; so excessively particular are they about money, and so profitable do they consider time.

Different from other Romans.

When they reached Scipio, however, and asked him what instructions he had given his banker, he replied, "To pay both sisters the whole sum due them." They told him he had made a mistake, and with a show of friendly regard, pointed out to him that according to law he had the use of the money for a considerable time longer. But Scipio replied that he was quite aware of that, but that close reckoning and legal exactness were for strangers; with relations and friends he would do his best to behave straightforwardly and liberally. He therefore bade them draw on the banker for the whole sum. When Tiberius and Nasica heard this, they returned home in silence, quite confounded at the generosity of Scipio, and accusing themselves of meanness, though they were men of as high character as any at Rome. . . .

With such recommendations dating from his earliest years, Publius Scipio maintained the reputation for high

morality and good principles which he had won by the expenditure of perhaps sixty talents (on various relatives), for that was the sum which he bestowed from his own property. And this reputation for goodness did not depend so much on the amount of the money, as on the seasonableness of the gift and the graciousness with which it was bestowed.

His graciousness.

Polybius xxxii. 14.

By his strict purity, too, he not only saved his purse, but by refraining from many irregular pleasures he gained sound bodily health and a vigorous constitution, which accompanied him through the whole of his life, and repaid him with many pleasures and noble compensations for the immediate gratification from which he had abstained.

Courage is the most important element of character for public life in every country, but especially in Rome. He was bound therefore to give all his most serious attention to it. In this respect also he was well seconded by fortune. For the Macedonian kings were very fond of hunting, and their people devoted the most suitable districts to the preservation of game. These places were carefully guarded during all the war time, as they had been before, and yet were not hunted the whole of the four years owing to the public disturbance, so that they became full of all kinds of animals. But after the war Lucius Æmilius, thinking that hunting was the best training for body and courage his young soldiers could have, put the royal huntsmen under the charge of Scipio, and gave him entire authority over all matters connected with the hunting.

His love of hunting.

Polybius xxxii. 15.

Scipio accepted the duty, and looking upon himself as in a sort of royal position, devoted his whole time to this business as long as the army remained in Macedonia after the battle of Pydna. As he then had ample opportunity for this kind of pursuit, and was in the very prime of his youth and naturally disposed to such recreation, the taste for hunting which he acquired became permanent.

Hunting is more manly than litigation.

Rome, p. 121; *Ancient History*, p. 331.

When he returned to Rome, accordingly, and found his

taste supported by a corresponding enthusiasm on the part of Polybius, the time that other young men spent in law courts and in formal visits, haunting the Forum and endeavoring thereby to ingratiate themselves with the people, Scipio devoted to hunting; and by continually displaying brilliant and memorable acts of prowess, won a greater reputation than others, whose only chance of gaining credit was inflicting some damage on one of their fellow-citizens, — for that was the usual result of these law proceedings.

Scipio, on the other hand, without inflicting annoyance on any one, gained a popular reputation for manly courage, rivalling eloquence by action. The result was that in a short time he obtained a more decided superiority over his contemporaries than any other Roman within our memory. This he accomplished in spite of the fact that he struck out a path for his ambition which, according to Roman customs and ideas, was quite different from that of others.

Cato the Censor

Marcus Porcius Cato.
Plutarch, *Cato*, 1.

Marcus Porcius Cato (another eminent man of the age) was born at Tusculum and brought up on a farm belonging to his father in the Sabine country. There he lived till he began to take part in war and politics. In appearance he was —

> Red-haired, gray-eyed, and savage-tusked as well.

His life in the country.
Plutarch, *Cato*, 3.

The estate adjoining that of Cato belonged to one of the most powerful and highly born patricians of Rome, — Valerius Flaccus, a man who had a keen eye for rising merit, and generously fostered it till it received public recognition. This man heard of Cato's life from his servants, who told how their master would go to the court early in the morning and plead the causes of all who required his services, and then on returning to his farm would work with his servants, in winter wearing a coarse coat without sleeves, in summer

nothing but his tunic. They added that he used to sit at meals with them and eat the same loaf and drink the same wine.

Many other stories of his goodness, simplicity, and sententious remarks were told Valerius, who became interested in his neighbor, and invited him to dinner. They grew intimate; and Valerius, noticing his quiet and frank disposition, and thinking him like a plant that requires careful treatment and an extensive space in which to develop, encouraged and urged him to take part in political life at Rome.

Cato at Rome.

On going to Rome, he at once gained admirers by his able pleadings in the law courts, while he was advanced to important positions through Valerius. He was first appointed military tribune and then quæstor. Afterward he became so distinguished as to be able to compete with Valerius himself for the highest offices in the state. They were together elected consuls, and still later censors. Of the older Romans, Cato attached himself especially to Fabius Maximus, a man of the greatest renown and influence, although it was his disposition and mode of life which Cato desired most to imitate. He did not hesitate, therefore, to oppose Scipio the Great, who was then a young man but a rival and opponent of Fabius.

Rome, p. 110; *Ancient History*, p. 324.

Clothing and food.

He himself tells us that he never wore a garment worth more than a hundred drachmas; that when he was general and consul he still drank the same wine as his servants; that his dinner never cost him more than thirty asses in the market; and that he indulged himself to this extent solely for the good of the state, that he might be strong and able to serve his country in the field.

Plutarch, *Cato*, 4.

These habits some ascribed to narrowness of mind, while some thought he carried parsimony to excess in order by his example to reform and restrain others. Be this as it may, I for my part consider that his conduct in treating his slaves like beasts of burden, and selling them when old and worn out, was the mark of an excessively harsh disposition,

Plutarch, *Cato*, 5.

which disregards the claims of our common human nature, and merely considers the question of profit and loss.

His maxims. Plutarch, *Cato*, 8.

(Cato was famous for his pithy sayings.) Once when he wished to restrain the Romans from distributing a large quantity of corn as a largess to the people, he thus began his speech:

"It is difficult, fellow-citizens, to make the stomach hear reason, because it has no ears."

He said, too,

"The Romans are like sheep, who never form opinions of their own, but follow where others lead them."

With regard to female influence, he once said,

"All mankind rule their wives, we rule all mankind, and our wives rule us."

He used to beg of the young men,

"If we have become great by virtue and self-restraint, do not degenerate. If, on the other hand, our empire has been won by immorality and vice, reform yourselves; for we have now become so great as not to need any further assistance from vices."

When a certain man sold his ancestral estate, which was situated by the seashore, Cato pretended to admire him as more powerful than the sea itself, "for this man," he said, "has drunk up the fields which the sea itself could not swallow."

(Eumenes, King of Pergamum, Asia Minor.)

When King Eumenes came to Rome, the senate received him with especial honors, and he was courted and run after. Cato, however, held himself aloof and would not go near him and when some one said, "But he is an excellent man and a good friend to Rome," he answered:

"It may be so, but a king is by nature an animal that lives on human flesh."

"None of those who have borne the title of king are to be compared with Epaminondas, or Pericles, or Themistocles, or with Manius Curius, or Hamilcar Barca."

"Wise men," he said, "gain more advantage from fools

than fools from wise men; for wise men avoid the errors of fools, but fools cannot imitate the example of wise men." Plutarch, *Cato*, 9.

"I like young men to have red cheeks rather than pale ones. I care not for a soldier who uses his hands while marching and his feet while fighting, or for one who snores louder in bed than he shouts in battle."

"I cannot live with a man whose palate is more sensitive than his heart." This he said when an epicure wished to become his friend.

"The soul of a lover inhabits the body of his beloved."

"In my whole life I repent of three things only: first, that I have trusted a woman with a secret; secondly, that I have gone by water when I might have gone by land; thirdly, that I have passed one day without having made my will."

To an old man who was acting wrongly he said:

"My good sir, old age is ugly enough without your adding to it the deformity of wickedness."

When a certain tribune, who was suspected of being a poisoner, was trying to carry a bad law, Cato remarked:

"Young man, I do not know which is the worse for us, to drink what you mix or to enact what you propose."

Once when he was abused by a man of vicious life, he answered:

"We are not contending on equal terms; you are accustomed to hearing and using bad language, whereas I am unused to hearing it and unwilling to use it."

His political life.

In his political life he seems to have thought one of his most important duties to be the impeachment of bad citizens. . . . He himself is said to have been defendant in nearly fifty cases, the last of which was tried when he was eighty-six years old. On this occasion he uttered that well known saying, "It is hard for a man who has lived in one generation to be obliged to defend himself before another." And this was not the end of his litigations; for four years later, at the age of ninety, he impeached Servius Galba. In fact his life, like that of Nestor, reached through three generations. Plutarch, *Cato*, 15.

His censorship.

Plutarch, *Cato*, 18.

But what caused the greatest dissatisfaction were the restrictions which he as censor imposed on luxury. This vice he could not attack openly, because it had taken such deep root among the people; but he caused all clothes, carriages, women's ornaments, and furniture which exceeded fifteen hundred drachmas in value to be rated at ten times their value and taxed accordingly; for he thought that those who possessed the most valuable property ought to contribute

P. 52.

most largely to the revenues of the state. A tax of but three copper asses for every thousand, on the other hand, he imposed upon all the citizens, that those who were burdened with an excessive taxation on luxuries, when they saw persons of frugal and simple habits paying so small a tax on the same income, might cease from their extravagance. This measure gained him the hatred of those who were taxed so heavily for their luxuries.

Opposition to him.

Plutarch, *Cato*, 19.

Far from paying attention to those who blamed his policy, he proceeded to still severer measures. He cut off the water-pipes, by which water was conveyed from the public fountains into private houses and gardens, and destroyed all houses which encroached upon public streets, lowered the price of contracts for public works, and farmed out the public revenues for the highest possible sums. All this made him still more unpopular. Titus Flamininus attacked him, and prevailed upon the senate to annul the contracts which he had made for the building of temples and for the construction of public works, on the ground that they were disadvantageous to the state. Furthermore they encouraged the boldest of the tribunes to prosecute him before the people and to fine him two talents. Great opposition, too, was made to the basilica, or public hall, which he built at the public expense in the Forum below the senate-house, and which was called the Basilica Porcia.

Family affairs.

Plutarch, *Cato*, 20.

A good father and a good husband, he was in private life an economist of no ordinary kind, for he did not despise money-making or regard it as unworthy of his ability.

He married a wife who was not rich, but well-born; for though all classes might possess equal good sense, yet a woman of noble birth he thought would be more ashamed of doing wrong, and therefore more likely to encourage her husband to do right. He used to say that a man who beats his wife or his children lays sacrilegious hands on the holiest of things.

The last of his political acts was the destruction of Carthage. This was actually brought to pass by Scipio the Younger, but it was chiefly owing to the counsels of Cato that the war was undertaken.

His death.

Immediately after the opening of the war he died. A prophecy had come to his notice that it would be finished by a young man then military tribune, who had given remarkable proofs of courage and generalship. On hearing of his exploits, Cato is said to have quoted from Homer —

Plutarch, *Cato*, 26.

> He alone has solid wisdom,
> All the rest are shadows vain.

This opinion Scipio soon confirmed by his deeds.

Cato left one son, named Salonius, and one grandson, the child of his eldest son, who was dead. Salonius died during his prætorship, but his son Marcus became consul. This man was the grandfather of Cato the philosopher, who was one of the foremost men of his day in courage and ability.

P. 198.

(Cato the Elder was the author of several works, among them a *Treatise on Agriculture*. Below are two extracts from this treatise; they explain the duties of an overseer of a country estate and the duties of the housekeeper.)

The duties of an overseer.

The following are the duties of the overseer. He should keep good discipline, and should observe the festivals. He should settle the disputes of the slaves, and if any one does wrong, he should inflict punishment according to the amount of the wrong. He should see that no harm befalls the slave family, that no one of them suffers cold or hunger. By giving the slaves plenty of work he will the more easily

Cato, *Agriculture*, 5.

keep them from mischief. . . . The overseer should not be a gadabout; he should always be sober and should go out nowhere to dinner. He should keep the slaves at work and see that all the orders of the master are carried out.

He should not presume to know more than his master. The friends of the master he should hold as his friends, and should hearken to his orders. He should offer no sacrifice except to the cross-road gods at the cross-roads and to the household god at the hearth. Without his master's order he should trust no one, but should collect his master's loans. Seed for sowing, food, grain, wine, and oil he should lend to no one. He should have two or three neighbor families with whom he may borrow and lend, but none besides.

He should frequently settle accounts with his master. A hired mechanic or cultivator he should not keep more than a day. He should be unwilling to buy anything without the knowledge of his master or to conceal anything from his master. He should keep no parasite. He should consult no seer, augur, prophet, or Chaldean soothsayer. . . . He should be the first to rise from bed and the last to retire. Before retiring he should see that the house is locked, and that every one is abed in his place, and that the cattle have their fodder.

Cato, *Agriculture*, 142.

He should supervise everything that ought to be done on the farm, and in the way the master has directed him. He should buy or provide whatever is necessary, and should supervise the distribution of food and clothing among the members of the slave family; and he should be obedient to his master's commands. Furthermore he should instruct the housekeeper to prepare and make ready everything needful for the master's coming (into the country), and should see that the housekeeper attends to her duties.

If the master has given you, the overseer, a wife, be satisfied with her. Make her respect you. Do not allow

her to be extravagant. She should have as little as possible to do with the neighbor women and should not receive them at the house. She should not go out anywhere to dinner or be a gadabout. She should not herself perform sacrifices or bid any one do it for her without an order from her master or mistress.[1] Let her understand that the master sacrifices for the entire family.

The duties of the housekeeper.

(The housekeeper was usually the overseer's wife.)

She should be neat and should keep the farmhouse cleanly swept. Every night before going to bed she should clean the hearth and brush it off all around. On the calends, ides, nones,[2] and all festal days, she shall place a wreath on the hearth and shall worship the household god according to her means and ability.

She must prepare food for yourself and the household, and have it cooked. She must keep a great many hens and eggs. She must have dried pears, sorb-apples, figs, and dried grapes. The sorb-apples she should preserve in boiled wine, and the figs and grapes in large jars; the sparrow-apples and grapes in wine jars and pots covered with earth; her fresh nuts from Præneste she should also keep in a jar covered with earth. Her Campanian apples she should store in large jars, and all the other fruits which should be stored up she should gather carefully every year. She must know how to grind good meal and fine flour.

Her recipes.

[1] In other words, she should understand that a person of her inferior rank ought not to come into this direct relation with the gods; and she should not waste her master's provisions.

[2] "In March, July, October, May,
The Ides are on the fifteenth day,
The Nones the seventh; but all besides
Have two less days for Nones and Ides."
— Gildersleeve and Lodge, *Latin Grammar*, p. 491.

For the calends, see p. 138.

STUDIES

1. In the time of the Punic Wars what kind of government had Rome? What feature of the government was monarchical (or despotic)? What feature was aristocratic? What feature was democratic?

2. What were the powers and duties of the consuls? of the senate? of the people? How did these three "estates" depend upon and limit one another? Describe the harmony of the constitution.

3. What encouragements did the government offer to bravery? Describe the masks and the funeral oration. What was the effect of these customs on character?

4. What was the practical value of religion to the Romans? Compare the Romans (1) with the Carthaginians (see ch. v), and (2) with the Greeks in honesty. Describe a religious vow.

5. What caused an increase of superstition? What attempts did the government make to restrain it? Describe the Bacchantes.

6. What new luxuries came to Rome from the East? From the story of the flute-players what should you infer as to the artistic taste of the Romans? How did they compare in this respect with the Greeks?

7. Describe the character of Scipio Africanus. What were his admirable traits?

8. Describe the character of Scipio Æmilianus. How did he differ from other Romans? Compare him with the educated gentleman of the present. How did Polybius influence him? Who tells this story?

9. Give an account of Cato the Censor, and describe his character. Compare him with the Scipios. Which of the three was the most thoroughly Roman?

10. What do the extracts from Cato's *Agriculture* teach regarding a country estate?

11. Collect all the material on the manners, customs, and character of the Romans in chs. v, vi, and in the corresponding chapters of the *Rome* (or *Ancient History*), and write a paper on the subject with reference to the period of the Punic Wars.

CHAPTER VII

The Revolution — (1) The Gracchi, Marius, and Sulla

THIRD PERIOD OF THE REPUBLIC — FIRST EPOCH (133–79 B.C.)

Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. Cf. p. 2.

TIBERIUS and Gaius Gracchus were the sons of that Tiberius Gracchus who was censor and twice consul and who celebrated two triumphs. Their father was still more distinguished, however, by his personal character, to which he owed the honor of having for his wife Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. This lady he married after Scipio's death, though Tiberius had not been a friend of her father, but rather a political opponent.

Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*, 1.

The death of their father.

A story is told that Tiberius, the father, once caught a couple of snakes in his bed, and the soothsayers after consulting on the matter told him not to kill both nor let both go. They said if the male were killed, the death of Tiberius would follow; and if the female were killed, Cornelia would die. Now Tiberius, who loved his wife and thought it more suitable for him to die first, as he was an elderly man and his wife still young, killed the male snake and let the female go. No long time afterward he died, leaving twelve children.

Their mother.

Cornelia, their mother, undertook the care of the family and of her husband's property. She showed herself so prudent, so fond of her children, and so noble a character that people thought Tiberius did well in dying in place of such a wife. Though Ptolemy, king of Egypt, afterward invited her to share his crown and wooed her for his wife, she

refused the offer and continued a widow. All her children died before her except one daughter, who married the younger Scipio (Æmilianus), and two sons, Tiberius and Gaius, who were brought up by their mother so carefully that they became beyond dispute the most accomplished of Roman youths. This superiority they owed perhaps more to their excellent education than even to their natural good qualities.

The character of the Gracchi.

Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*, 2.

Preston and Dodge, *Private Life of the Romans*, p. 96.

In character, in the expression of his face, and in his movements Tiberius was mild and sedate; Gaius was animated and impetuous. When Tiberius addressed the people, he would stand composedly in one spot, but Gaius was the first Roman to move about the rostra and pull his toga from his shoulder while speaking. The manner of Gaius was awe-inspiring and vehement; that of Tiberius was more pleasing and more calculated to stir the sympathies. The language of Tiberius was pure and nicely elaborated; that of Gaius was copious and persuasive.

Ib. 3.

Such were the contrasts between the two brothers; but in courage against the enemy, in justice to the subject nations, in the careful discharge of public duties, and in self-control, they were alike. Tiberius was the elder by nine years, — a circumstance which caused their political careers to be separated by an interval, and which did much to bring about the failure of their measures; for not rising to eminence at the same time, they could not unite their strength in one irresistible effort.

Tiberius Gracchus

The legislation of Tiberius.

Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*, 7.

While Scipio (Æmilianus, his brother-in-law,) was warring against Numantia, Tiberius began his legislation, to which he was led by the following motives.

Of the land acquired by war the Romans (1) assigned the cultivated part forthwith to settlers or (2) leased or (3) sold it. Since they had no leisure immediately to allot the part which then lay desolated by war, — generally the

greater part, — (4) they made proclamation that in the meantime those who were willing to work it might do so on condition of rendering to the government a share of the yearly crops — a tenth of the grain and a fifth of the fruit. From those who kept flocks was required a share of the animals, both oxen and small cattle. They did these things in order to multiply the Italian race, which they considered the most laborious of peoples, that they might have plenty of allies at home.

How the Romans disposed of acquired land.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 7.

The result, however, was the very opposite of their desire. For the rich, getting possession of the greater part of the undistributed lands, and emboldened by the lapse of time to believe that they should never be dispossessed, added to their holdings the small farms of their poor neighbors partly by purchase and partly by force. In this way they came to cultivate vast tracts instead of single estates, using for the purpose slaves as laborers and herdsmen, lest free laborers should be drawn from their employment into the army.

The ownership of slaves itself brought great gain from the large number of children, who multiplied because slaves were exempt from military service. Thus the powerful men became enormously rich, and the race of slaves increased throughout the country, while the Italian people dwindled in numbers and strength, oppressed by penury, taxes, and military service. If they had any respite from these evils, they passed their time in idleness, because the land was held by the rich, who employed slaves instead of freemen as cultivators.

How Tiberius became a reformer.

Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*, 8.

In a certain book Gaius recorded that as Tiberius, his brother, was passing through Etruria on his way to Numantia, he saw that the country was depopulated, and that the laborers and shepherds were foreign slaves and barbarians; then for the first time Tiberius thought out those political measures which to the two brothers were the beginning of infinite calamities. But the energy and ambition of Tiberius were roused mainly by the people, who by writing on the

porticos, walls, and tombs, urged him to recover the public land for the poor.

His agrarian law, 133 B.C.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 9.

Rome, p. 152; *Ancient History*, p. 350.

He brought forward a law which provided (1) that no one should hold more than five hundred jugera of the public land. But he added a provision to the former law, (2) that the sons of the present occupiers might each hold one-half that amount, and (3) that the remainder should be divided among the poor by triumvirs, who should be changed annually.

Opposition.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 10.

This greatly disturbed the rich because, on account of the triumvirs, they could no longer disregard the law as they had done before; nor could they buy the allotments of others, for Gracchus had provided against this by forbidding sales. Collecting in groups, they lamented, and accused the poor of appropriating the results of their tillage, their vineyards, and their dwellings. Some said they had paid the price of the land to their neighbors. Were they to lose the money with the land? Others said that the graves of their ancestors were in the ground which had been allotted to them in the division of their fathers' estates. Others declared that their wives' dowries had been expended on the estates, or that the land had been given to their own daughters as dowry. Money-lenders could show loans made on this security. All kinds of wailing and expressions of indignation were heard at once.

The poor support him.

On the other side were heard the lamentations of the poor, — that they had been reduced from competence to extreme penury, and from that to childlessness because they were unable to rear their offspring. They recounted the military services they had rendered, by which this very land had been acquired, and were angry that they were robbed of their share of the common property. They reproached the rich for employing instead of citizens, mere slaves, who were always faithless and ill-tempered and for that reason unserviceable in war.

While these classes were lamenting, and accusing each

other, many from the colonies and municipia, and all in fact who were interested in the lands and who were under similar fears, flocked in and took sides with the respective factions. Emboldened by numbers and exasperated against each other, they formed turbulent crowds, and waited for the voting on the new law. Some tried by all means to prevent its enactment and others supported it in every possible way. In addition to personal interest, the spirit of rivalry spurred both sides in the preparations they were making for the day of the assembly.

The object of the law.

What Gracchus had in his mind in proposing the measure was not wealth but an increase in the number of useful citizens. Thoroughly inspired by the value of his plan, and believing that nothing more advantageous or more admirable could ever happen to Italy, he took no account of the difficulties in his way. . . .

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 11.

Marcus Octavius, another tribune, who had been induced by the holders of these lands to interpose his veto, ordered the scribe to keep silence. Now among the Romans the tribune's veto always prevailed. Gracchus therefore reproached him severely and adjourned the meeting to the following day. Then he stationed a sufficient guard as if to force Octavius against his will, and with threats ordered the scribe to read the proposed law to the multitude. He began to read but when Octavius again vetoed, he stopped.

Ib. 12.

Then the tribunes fell to wrangling with each other, and a considerable tumult arose among the people. The leading citizens besought the tribunes to submit their controversy to the senate for a decision. Gracchus seized on the suggestion, — for he believed that the law was acceptable to all well-disposed persons, — and hastened to the senate-house. As he had there only a few followers and was upbraided by the rich, he ran back to the Forum, and said he would take the vote of the assembly on the following day ; the question would be not only on the law but on the magistracy of Octavius,

(Depositions were unconstitutional.)

to determine whether a tribune who was acting contrary to the people's interest could continue to hold his office.

Deposition of Octavius.

And so he did; for when Octavius, nothing daunted, again interposed, Gracchus distributed the pebbles to take a vote on him first. When the first tribe voted to depose Octavius from his magistracy, Gracchus turned to him and begged him to desist from his veto. As he would not yield, the votes of the other tribes were taken. There were thirty-five tribes at this time. The seventeen which first voted, angrily sustained this motion. If the eighteenth should do the same, it would make a majority. Again did Gracchus, in the sight of the people, urgently importune Octavius in his present extreme danger not to prevent this most pious work, so useful to Italy, and not to frustrate the wishes so earnestly entertained by the people, whose desires he ought rather to share in his character of tribune, and not risk the loss of his office by public condemnation. After speaking thus, he called the gods to witness that he did not willingly do any despite to his colleague. But as Octavius was still unyielding, he went on to take the votes. Octavius was forthwith reduced to the rank of a private citizen and slunk away unobserved.

Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*, 13.

The law concerning the land was immediately afterward carried. . . .

Tiberius seeks reëlection.

Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*, 16.

Because of the threats and the combination of enemies, the friends of Tiberius thought he ought to be candidate for the tribunate for the next year; and Tiberius attempted to strengthen his popularity by promising to carry new measures.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 15.

(On the morning of the election) Gracchus assembled his partisans before daybreak, and communicated to them a sign to be given in case of a fight. He then took possession of the temple on the Capitoline Hill, where the voting was to be. He himself occupied the middle of the assembly. As he was hindered by the other tribunes and by the rich, who would not allow the votes to be taken on

the question, he gave the signal. There was a sudden shout from those who saw it, and violence was the result.

Violence.

Some partisans of Gracchus took position around him like a body-guard; others, wresting the fasces from the hands of the lictors, broke them in pieces. They drove the rich from the assembly with such disorder and wounds that the tribunes fled from their places in terror, and the priests closed the doors of the temple. Many ran away pell-mell and scattered wild rumors.

Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*, 19

The enemies of Tiberius ran to the senate and reported that he was asking for a crown, and that his touching his head (the signal agreed upon) was a proof of it. Thereupon the whole body was greatly disturbed. Nasica entreated the consul to protect the state and put down the tyrant. The consul however answered mildly that he would not be the first to use violence, and that he would take no citizen's life without a regular trial. "If, however," he continued, "the people come to an illegal vote at the instigation of Tiberius, I will not respect any such decision."

Tiberius is killed.

Then Nasica springing up exclaimed, "Well then, if the consul betrays the state, let all who wish to maintain the laws follow me." As he uttered these words he drew his toga over his head and hastened to the Capitol. The other senators who followed him wrapped their togas about them with one hand, and pushed all the people they met out of their way, for from respect to their rank, no one opposed them; but all taking to flight, trampled one another down.

The followers of the senators had clubs and sticks which they had brought from home; but the senators, seizing the fragments and legs of the benches which were broken by the people in their hurry to escape, made right for Tiberius and struck all who were in their way. The people were all put to flight or killed. As Tiberius was attempting to escape, some one laid hold of his dress, whereupon he dropped his toga and fled in his tunic; but he stumbled over some persons who were lying on the ground, and was thrown

down. While he was trying to rise he received the first blow, as is universally admitted, from Publius Satyreius, one of his colleagues, who struck him on the head with the leg of a bench. Lucius Rufus claimed the credit of giving him the second blow, as if it were a thing to be proud of. Above three hundred persons were killed by sticks and stones, but none by the sword.

The blame is on the nobles.

Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*, 20. (It is to be noted that the nobles were the first to resort to violence and bloodshed.)

On this occasion it is probable that Tiberius would have given way to persuasion without difficulty, if his assailants had not come to bloodshed and blows, for those about him were not above three thousand. But the combination against him seems to have been caused by the passion and hatred of the rich citizens rather than by what they alleged; and their brutal and indecent treatment of his body is a proof of this. For they would not listen to his brother's request to take up the body and bury it by night, but it was thrown into the Tiber with the other bodies. And this was not all; they banished some of his friends without trial and others they seized and put to death, among whom was Diophanes the orator. Gaius Villius they shut up in a vessel with snakes and vipers, and thus caused his death. When Blossius of Cumæ was brought before the consuls and questioned about what had passed, he admitted that he had done everything at the bidding of Tiberius. Nasica asked him,

"What if Tiberius had told you to burn the Capitol?"

"Tiberius would never have given such an order," was the reply.

As the same question was often repeated and by several persons, he said:

"If he had commanded me to burn the Capitol, it would have been a good deed for me to do: for Tiberius would not have given such an order, unless it were for the interest of the people."

Blossius was set at liberty.

Gaius Gracchus

Gaius Gracchus.

Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus*, 1.

The common opinion is that Gaius was a pure demagogue and much more greedy of popular favor than Tiberius. But in fact the younger brother took part in public affairs through necessity rather than choice. Cicero the orator says that Gaius declined all offices and had determined to live in retirement, but that his brother appeared to him in a dream and said, "Gaius, why do you hesitate? There is no escape — it is our fate to live and die for the people."

123 B.C.

Ib. 3.

On entering office (the tribunate) he soon made himself the first on the board, for he surpassed every Roman in eloquence, and his misfortunes gave him a license for speaking freely when lamenting the fate of his brother.

His laws.

Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus*, 5.

Of the laws which he proposed with a view to gaining the popular favor and to weakening the senate, one was for the establishment of colonies and for the distribution of public land among the poor. Another provided for supplying the soldiers with clothing at the public expense, without any deduction from their pay on this account; the same law exempted youths under seventeen from being drafted for the army. A third favored the allies, and put the Italians on the same footing as the citizens with respect to the suffrage. Another, relating to grain, had for its object the lowering of the price for the poor. The last referred to the jurors, — a measure which most of all encroached on the privileges of the senate.

His monarchical power.

Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus*, 6.

The people not only passed the last-named measure, but empowered Gracchus to select from the knights those who were to act as jurors — a right which conferred on him a kind of monarchical authority, and even the senate now assented to the measures which he proposed in that body. All his plans, however, were honorable to the senate. Such, for instance, was the reasonable and just decree about the grain which Fabius the proprætor sent from Iberia. Gracchus induced the senate to sell the grain and return

Rome, p. 130, n. 1.

the money to the Iberian cities, and further to censure Fabius for making the Roman dominion heavy and intolerable to the subject nations. This decree brought Gaius great reputation and popularity in the provinces.

An administrator of marvellous energy.

He also introduced measures for sending out colonies, for the construction of roads, and for the building of public granaries; and he made himself director and superintendent for carrying all these plans into effect. Though engaged in so many great undertakings, he was never wearied, but with wonderful activity and labor he effected every single object as if he had for the time no other occupation; so that even those who thoroughly feared and hated him were amazed at the rapidity and perfect execution of all that he undertook. But the people looked with admiration on the man himself, as they saw him attended by crowds of building contractors, artificers, ambassadors, soldiers, and learned men, to all of whom he was easy of access. And while he maintained his dignity, he was affable to all, and adapted his behavior to the condition of every individual, and so proved the falsehood of those who called him tyrannical or arrogant or violent. In this way he showed himself more skilful as a popular leader in his dealings with men than even in his speeches from the rostra.

His public roads.

Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus*, 7.

But Gaius busied himself most about the building of roads with a view to utility, convenience, and ornament. The roads were made in a straight line through the country, partly of quarried stone and partly with tight-rammed masses of earth. By filling up the depressions, and by throwing bridges across those parts which were traversed by winter torrents or deep ravines, and by raising the road on both sides to the same uniform height, the whole line was made level, and presented a pleasing appearance. He also measured all the roads by miles — the Roman mile is not quite eight stadia — and he fixed stone blocks to mark the distances. He placed other stones at shorter distances from one another on each side of the road, that people might

P. 20.

easily mount their horses from these blocks without other assistance.

The Latins and the Italians.

He called the Latin allies to demand the full rights of Roman citizenship, for the senate could not with decency refuse this privilege to kinsmen by blood. To the other allies, who were not allowed to vote in Roman assemblies, he sought to give the right of suffrage, in order to have their help in the enactment of laws which he had in mind. Greatly alarmed at this, the senate ordered the consuls to give public notice: "Nobody who does not possess the right of suffrage shall stay in the city or approach within forty stadia of it while the voting is going on concerning these laws." The senate also persuaded Livius Drusus, another tribune, to interpose his veto against the laws proposed by Gracchus, but not to tell the people his reasons for doing so; for a tribune was not required to give reasons for his veto. In order to win the people they gave Drusus the privilege of founding twelve colonies, and the plebeians were so much pleased with this that they began to scoff at the laws proposed by Gracchus.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 23.

(For colonies, allies, etc., see *Rome*, pp. 62–64; *Ancient History*, pp. 294–296.)

His troubles.

(These were the achievements of Gaius in the first and second year of his tribunate. But he failed to be elected for a third year, and his enemies called an assembly to repeal his law for establishing a colony at Carthage. In a fight which broke up this meeting the senatorial party gained the upper hand.)

Gaius took no part in the contest, but greatly troubled at what was happening, he retired to the temple of Diana, and was going to kill himself there, but was prevented by his faithful friends, Pomponius and Licinius, who took the sword away and induced him to flee. It is said that he went down on his knees in the temple, and stretching out his hands to the statue of the goddess, prayed that for their ingratitude and treachery to him the Roman people might always be slaves; for the greater part of them had openly gone over to the other side on receiving a promise of pardon.

Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus*, 16.

His death.

Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus*, 17.

Gaius fled and his enemies pursued. They came near overtaking him at the Wooden Bridge; but his two friends, bidding him make his escape, opposed the pursuers, and allowed no one to pass the head of the bridge till both were killed. With Gaius ran a single slave named Philocrates. All the spectators were urging Gaius to fly, just as if they were encouraging a runner in a race, yet no one, though he prayed for it, would come to his aid or lend him a horse; for the pursuers were close upon him. He escaped into the sacred grove of the Furies, and there fell by the hand of Philocrates, who killed himself on the body of his master. . . .

The bodies of Gaius and Fulvius (his friend) and of their partisans were thrown into the river, their property was sold, and the money was paid into the treasury. The number of the dead amounted to three thousand. The authorities forbade the women to lament for their relatives, and deprived Licinia (the wife of Gaius) of her marriage portion.

Opimius.

Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus*, 18.

Opimius (the consul who caused the overthrow of Gaius) was the first who ever exercised the dictatorial power in the office of consul. He condemned without trial three thousand citizens — among them Gaius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus. Fulvius was a man of consular rank and had enjoyed a triumph; Gracchus was the first man of his age in character and reputation. This Opimius did not keep himself free from corruption. Sent as a commissioner to Jugurtha, the

P. 172.

king of Numidia, he was bribed by him; and convicted of most shameful corruption, he spent the last years of his life in infamy, hated and insulted by the people, who though humbled and depressed for a time, soon showed how much they longed for and regretted the Gracchi. For they had statues of the two brothers made and set up in public places, and the spots on which they fell were declared sacred ground, to which the people brought all the first fruits of the seasons; and many persons daily offered sacrifices there and worshipped, just as at the temples of the gods.

Cornelia bore her misfortunes with a noble spirit, and said

of the sacred ground on which her sons were murdered, that they had a tomb worthy of them. . . . She would speak of her sons without showing sorrow or shedding a tear, relating their sufferings and their deeds to her inquiring friends as if she were speaking of the men of olden time. . . . Though fortune has often the advantage over virtue in its attempts to guard against evils, she cannot take away from virtue the power of enduring them with fortitude.

Cornelia.

Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus*, 19.

Gaius Marius

Gaius Marius.

(Not long after the death of the younger Gracchus, Gaius Marius came into prominence as a military commander of remarkable genius, and as a leader of the people against the corrupt nobility.)

Plutarch, *Marius*, 3.

Marius was the son of obscure parents, who gained their living by the labor of their hands, and were poor. His father's name was Marius, his mother's Fulcinia. Many years passed before young Marius saw Rome and became acquainted with the habits of the city. Up to that time he lived . . . in a village in the neighborhood of Arpinum. His mode of life was rude when contrasted with the polite and artificial fashions of the city, but temperate and in accordance with the old Roman discipline. He first served against the Celtiberians when Scipio (*Æmilianus*) Africanus was besieging Numantia, and he attracted the notice of his commander by his superiority in courage over all the other young soldiers, and by readily adapting himself to the improved discipline which Scipio introduced among the troops, who had been corrupted by luxurious habits and extravagance. It is said, too, that Marius killed one of the enemy in a single combat in the presence of the general.

Pp. 144, 160.

Honored by Scipio.

The young man accordingly received from Scipio various tokens of honor. Once after supper when those who were present began to talk about generals, and one of the company, either because he really felt a difficulty or merely wished

to flatter Scipio, asked him where the Romans would find such another leader and protector when he was gone, Scipio laid his hand gently on the shoulder of Marius, who was reclining next to him, and said, "Perhaps here." So full of promise was the youth of Marius and so discerning was the judgment of Scipio.

Sallust, *Jugurthine War*, 63.

The leading features in the character of Marius were industry, integrity, great knowledge of war, and a spirit undaunted in the field of battle. Temperate in private life and superior to pleasure, he was ambitious only for glory.

Under Metellus in Africa, 109–108 B.C.

When Cæcilius Metellus was appointed consul with the command of the war against Jugurtha (king of Numidia), he took Marius with him as lieutenant to Libya. . . .

Plutarch, *Marius*, 7.

Though the war involved many hardships, Marius shrank from no danger however great, and he thought nothing too trivial to be neglected, but in prudent measures and in careful foresight he surpassed all the officers of his own rank, and he vied with the soldiers in hard living and in endurance. In these ways he won their affections. For certainly nothing reconciles a man so readily to toil as to see another willingly sharing it with him, for thus the compulsion seems to be taken away. It is the greatest pleasure to Roman soldiers to see their general eating with them common bread and sleeping on a coarse mat, or taking a hand in trench work and fortification.

The fame of Marius.

Soldiers do not so much admire a general who shares with them the honor and the spoil as one who takes part in their toils and dangers; and they love a commander who will share in their labors more than one who indulges their license. By such conduct as this and by winning the affection of the troops, Marius soon filled Libya and Rome with his fame and glory; for the soldiers wrote to their friends at home and told them there would be no end to the war with the barbarians — no deliverance from it — if the Romans did not elect Marius consul.

These proceedings greatly annoyed Metellus. . . .

Elected consul.

Marius however was anxious to obtain leave of absence; and Metellus after devising various pretexts for delay, at last allowed him to go, when there were only twelve days left before the consuls would be declared. The long journey from the camp to Utica on the coast Marius accomplished in two days and one night, and offered sacrifice before setting sail.

Plutarch, *Marius*, 8.

In four days he crossed the sea with a favorable wind, and was most joyfully received by the people. Introduced to the assembly by one of the tribunes, he violently abused Metellus and ended with asking for the consulship, promising either to kill Jugurtha or to take him alive.

Declared consul by a great majority, he forthwith set about levying soldiers in a new and illegal way.

Ib. 9.

His army.

He took all who were willing to join him, the greater number from the lowest ranks. Some said this was done from a scarcity of better men, and others from the consul's desire to pay court to the poorer class, by whom he had been honored and promoted. In fact to a man grasping at power the most needy are the most serviceable.

Sallust, *Jugurthine War*, 86.

Former generals had never admitted men of this kind into the army, but had given arms, as a badge of honor, to those only who had the due qualification (of property); for they considered that every soldier pledged his property to the state.

Plutarch, *Marius*, 9.

Marius sent for auxiliaries from foreign states, kings, and allies; he enlisted, too, all the bravest men from Latium, most of whom he knew by actual service, a few only by report; and by earnest invitation he induced even the discharged veterans to accompany him. Though opposed to him, the senate dared refuse him nothing. The additions to the legions it voted with eagerness because it knew that military service was unpopular, and thought that Marius would lose either the means of warfare or the favor of the people. But it entertained such expectations in vain, so ardent a desire of going with Marius came upon almost all.

Sallust, *Jugurthine War*, 84.

Every one cherished the fancy that he would return home laden with spoil, crowned with victory, or attended with some similar good fortune.

End of the war, 106 B.C.

Sallust, *Jugurthine War*, 86.

Setting out accordingly to Africa with a somewhat larger force than had been decreed, he arrived in a few days at Utica. There he received the command of the army from Publius Rutilius, the lieutenant of Metellus; for Metellus himself avoided the sight of his successor, that he might not see what he could not endure even to hear mentioned.

Velleius ii. 12.

At this early time Gaius Marius had Lucius Sulla connected with him as quæstor, perhaps through the care of the fates. This officer Marius sent as ambassador to king Bocchus, from whom he received king Jugurtha as a prisoner, — an event which took place a hundred and thirty-eight years ago. Elected consul a second time, and returning to Rome, Marius led Jugurtha in triumph on the first of January, the day on which his second consulship began.

Death of Jugurtha.

Plutarch, *Marius*, 12.

After the triumph Jugurtha was thrown into prison, and while some were tearing his clothes from his body, others who were eager for his golden ear-rings pulled them off, and the lobe of the ear with them. As they were thrusting him down naked into a deep hole, he in his frenzy, with a grinning laugh, cried out, "O Hercules, how cold your bath is!" After struggling against hunger six days, and to the last moment clinging to the wish to save his life, he paid the penalty due to his enormous crimes.

The Cimbri and the Teutons.

Velleius ii. 12.

The overwhelming force of the German tribes — the Cimbri and the Teutons — had vanquished and put to flight the consuls Cæpio and Manlius in Gaul, besides Carbo and Silanus still earlier, had dispersed their armies, and had killed Aurelius Scaurus the consul, as well as other leaders of great reputation. To repel such formidable enemies, the Romans deemed no commander better qualified than Marius. Thenceforward consulships multiplied on him. His

102 B.C.

third term was spent in preparations for the war. . . . In his fourth he engaged the Teutons at Aquæ Sextiæ, beyond

the Alps. In two successive days he slew a hundred and fifty thousand of them and utterly reduced their nation. In his fifth he, with the proconsul Quintus Lutatius Catulus, met the Cimbri on what are called the Raudian plains, on this side of the Alps, and put an end to the war in a most successful battle, in which he killed or took captive above a hundred thousand men.

Marius, Saturninus, and Glaucia, 100 B.C.

(In his sixth consulship Marius united with Saturninus, a tribune, and with Glaucia, a prætor, to carry a law for distributing land among his veterans.) Saturninus appointed a day for holding the assembly, and sent messengers to the country districts to summon those in whom he had most confidence, because they had served in the army under Marius. As the law gave the larger share to the Italian allies, the city people were not pleased with it.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 29.

Ib. i. 30.

Sedition broke out in the comitia. Those who attempted to prevent the passage of the laws proposed by the tribunes, were assaulted by Saturninus and driven away from the rostra. The city people exclaimed that they heard thunder in the assembly, in which case it is not permitted by Roman custom to finish the business that day. As the followers of Saturninus nevertheless persisted, the city people girded themselves, seized whatever clubs they could lay their hands on, and dispersed the rural party. Rallied by Saturninus, the rustics attacked the city folks with clubs, overcame them, and passed the law.

An election riot.

Saturninus was made tribune a third time, and had for his colleague one who was thought to be a fugitive slave, but who claimed to be a son of the elder Gracchus. The multitude had supported him in the election because they regretted Gracchus. When the election for consuls came on, Mark Antony was chosen as one of them by common consent. The aforesaid Glaucia contended with Memmius for the other place. Memmius was the more illustrious man by far, and Glaucia and Saturninus were fearful of the result. So they sent a gang of ruffians (as the opposite party

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 32.

alleged) to attack him with clubs while the election was going on. They fell upon him in the midst of the comitia and beat him to death in the sight of all. The assembly broke up in terror. Neither laws nor courts nor a sense of shame remained.

Death of Saturninus and Glaucia.

On the following day the people ran together in anger to kill Saturninus, but he had collected another mob from the country, and with Glaucia and Gaius Saufeius — a quæstor — he seized the Capitol. The senate voted them public enemies. Though vexed, Marius armed some of his forces reluctantly, and while he was delaying, some other persons cut off the water-supply from the Capitoline temple. Nearly perishing with thirst, Saufeius proposed to set the temple on fire, but Glaucia and Saturninus, who hoped that Marius would assist them, surrendered, and after them Saufeius. As everybody demanded their death, Marius shut them up in the senate-house, intending to deal with them in a more legal manner. The crowd considered this a mere pretext. They tore the tiles off the roof and stoned them to death, including a quæstor, a tribune, and a prætor, who were still wearing their insignia of office.

Anarchy.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 33.

Many others were swept out of existence by this sedition. Among them was that other tribune who was supposed to be the son of Gracchus, and who perished on the first day of his magistracy.

Freedom, democracy, laws, reputation, official position, were no longer of any use to anybody, since even the tribunician office, which had been devised for the restraint of wrong-doers and the protection of the plebeians, and was sacred and inviolable, now committed such outrages and suffered such indignities.

Strife between Marius and Sulla.

Plutarch, *Marius*, 32.

(For some time Marius and Sulla, his quæstor in the Jugurthine War, had been growing jealous of each other's influence.) Strife between them was delayed by the Social War which suddenly burst upon the state.

This war, diversified by many defeats and by great

changes of fortune, took from Marius as much reputation and influence as it gave to Sulla.

Plutarch, *Marius*, 33.

90–88 B.C.

At length the Italians yielded, and many persons at Rome were intriguing for the command in the war with Mithridates. . . . Marius, moved by boyish emulation, threw off his old age and infirmities, and went daily to the Campus Martius, where he took his exercises with the young men, and showed that he was still active in arms and sat firm in all the movements of horsemanship, though he was not well-built in his old age, but very fat and heavy.

Ib. 34.

(For causes of Social War, see *Rome*, p. 166; *Ancient History*, p. 357.)

Flight of Marius, 88 B.C.

The assembly voted the command to Marius, who when ready to set out, sent two tribunes to receive the army from Sulla. But Sulla, after encouraging his soldiers, who numbered thirty-five thousand well armed men, led them toward Rome. These troops fell upon the tribunes whom Marius had sent, and murdered them. Marius, on his part, put to death many of the friends of Sulla in Rome, and proclaimed freedom to the slaves if they would join him; but it is said that three only accepted the offer. As Sulla entered the city, Marius made a feeble resistance, and was soon compelled to flee.

(The senate had already given the command to Sulla.)

Plutarch, *Marius*, 35.

Instructions had already been sent to every city, requiring the authorities to search for the fugitive and put him to death when he should be found.

Ib. 38.

"I cannot kill Gaius Marius!"

Marius escaped, however, and without a companion or servant fled to Minturnæ. While he was resting there in a secluded house, the magistrates of the city, whose fears were excited by the proclamation of the Roman people, but who hesitated to be the murderers of a man who had been six times consul and had performed so many brilliant exploits, sent a Gaul to kill him with a sword. The story is that as the Gaul was approaching the pallet of Marius in the dusk, he thought he saw the gleam and flash of fire darting from the eyes of a hidden man, and that Marius rose from his bed and in a thundering voice shouted to him, "Dare you kill Gaius Marius?"

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 61.

"On the ruins of Carthage." Plutarch, *Marius*, 40.

The Gaul turned and fled out of doors like a madman, exclaiming, "I cannot kill Gaius Marius!" As the magistrates had come to their previous decision with reluctance, so now a kind of religious awe came over them, for they remembered the prophecy given him while he was a boy, that he should be consul seven times.

At this time the governor of Libya was Sextilius, a Roman who had received neither favor nor injury from Marius. It was expected therefore that the governor would help him, at least as far as feelings of pity move a man. But no sooner had Marius landed with a few of his party than an officer met him, and standing right in front of him said:

"The governor Sextilius forbids you, Marius, to set foot on Libya, and he says that if you do, he will support the decree of the senate by treating you as an enemy."

When Marius heard this command, grief and indignation deprived him of the power of speech. He remained silent a long time, looking fixedly at the officer. As the latter asked him what he had to say — what reply he had for the governor — he answered with a deep groan:

"Tell him you have seen Gaius Marius, a fugitive, sitting on the ruins of Carthage."

Marius and Cinna, 87 B.C. Plutarch, *Marius*, 41.

News reached Rome that Sulla was fighting with the generals of Mithridates in Bœotia, while at home the consuls (Octavius and Cinna) were quarrelling and taking arms against each other. They fought a battle, in which Octavius gained the victory and ejected Cinna, who was attempting to govern by violent means. Octavius put Cornelius Merula into the vacant consulship; but Cinna collected troops in Italy and made war against his enemy in the city. Hearing of this contest, Marius determined to set sail immediately. He took with him some Moorish cavalry from Africa as well as a few Italians who had fled thither — in all not more than a thousand. . . .

Within a few days (after landing in Etruria) he had collected a considerable army and had manned forty ships. . . .

Sending a messenger to Cinna, he offered to obey him as consul in everything. Cinna accepted the proposal, and naming his helper proconsul, sent him fasces and other tokens of the office.

Marius saw, however, that such trappings were not suited to his fortunes; for he was clad in a mean dress, and his hair remained uncut from the day he had gone into exile, and he was now above seventy years of age. He advanced accordingly with slow steps, wishing to make himself an object of pity; but in his abject mien was more than his usual terrific expression, and through his downcast looks he showed that his passion, so far from being humbled, was infuriated by his misfortunes.

A reign of terror.

While matters were in this condition, the senate met, and sent deputies to Cinna and Marius to invite them into the city, and to entreat them to spare the citizens. Cinna, as consul, sitting on his official chair gave audience to the messengers and returned a kind answer. Marius stood by the consul's chair without saying a word, but indicating by the unchanging heaviness of his brow and his gloomy look that he intended to fill Rome with slaughter.

Plutarch, *Marius*, 43.

Cinna and Marius entered the city, accordingly, and everybody received them with fear. Straightway they began without restraint to plunder those who were supposed to be of the opposite party.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, *Ib.* i. 71.

The factions, too, committed much private and irresponsible murder. The democrats banished opponents, confiscated property, deposed many from office, and repealed the laws enacted under Sulla's consulship. They put to death all of Sulla's friends, razed his house to the ground, confiscated his property, and voted him a public enemy. They searched for his wife and children, who however escaped. Altogether no calamity was wanting, either general or particular.

Ib. i. 73.

The last days of Marius.

Meantime, as if the wind were beginning to turn, reports reached Rome from all quarters that Sulla had finished the war with Mithridates, had recovered the provinces, and was

Plutarch, *Marius*, 45.

sailing home with a large force. This news brought a brief pause to the unspeakable misfortunes of the city, for Marius and his faction expected their enemies to arrive forthwith. . . .

But Marius was now worn out with labor, and as it were, drowned with cares and cowed in spirit. The experience of past dangers and toil made him tremble at the thought of a new war and fresh struggles, and he could not sustain himself when he reflected that he should now be compelled to hazard a contest, not with Octavius or Merula at the head of a tumultuous crowd and seditious rabble, but with Sulla, the man who had once driven him from Rome, and had now confined Mithridates within the limits of his kingdom of Pontus. Such thoughts overpowered his mind. Reflecting too upon his long wanderings and escapes, and upon the dangers in his flight by land and sea, he fell into a state of deep despair, and was troubled by nightly alarms and terrific dreams, in which he thought he heard a voice continually calling out —

> Dreadful is the Lion's lair,
> Though he is no longer there.

His death.

As he greatly dreaded these wakeful nights, he gave himself up to drinking at unseasonable hours, and to a degree unsuited to his age, in order to procure deep sleep, as if he could thus elude his cares. . . .

Though he had lived to be seventy years old, and was the first Roman who had been consul seven times, and who had made himself a family, and had acquired wealth enough for several kings, he still bewailed his fortune, and complained of dying before he had attained the fulness and completion of his desires.

(The first to gain nobility of rank.)

Plutarch, *Marius*, 46.

After holding his seventh consulship for seventeen days, he died.

Lucius Cornelius Sulla

Ancestry. Plutarch, *Sulla*, 1.

Lucius Cornelius Sulla belonged by birth to the patricians . . . Among his ancestors is numbered Rufinus, who became consul, but who is less noted for this honor than for the infamy which befell him. Detected in the possession of above ten pounds of silver plate, — which amount the law did not permit, — he was ejected from the senate. His immediate descendants continued in a mean condition, and Sulla himself was brought up with no great paternal property.

His appearance and character. Plutarch, *Sulla*, 2.

His statue gives us an idea of his appearance, with the exception of his eyes and complexion. His eyes were an uncommonly pure and piercing blue, which his color rendered still more terrific, for his face was spotted with rough red blotches interspersed with white. . . . And one of the Athenian satirists in derision made the following verse with reference to his complexion:

> Sulla is a mulberry besprinkled with meal.

It is not out of place to notice such traits in a man who is said to have had so strong a love of buffoonery that, when he was still young and of no repute, he spent his time and indulged himself among coarse actors and jesters; and when he was at the head of the state he daily got together from the theatre the vilest persons, with whom he would drink and contend in coarse witticisms. In this recreation he showed no respect for his age, and besides degrading the dignity of his office, he neglected many matters that required attention.

He looked on his consulship as only a small matter compared with what he expected to attain; the great object of his desires was the command in the war against Mithridates.

The First War with Mithridates, 88–84 B.C. Florus iii. 5.

Though four years were sufficient to defeat Pyrrhus, and seventeen to conquer Hannibal, this monarch held out forty years, till, subdued in three great wars, he was by the good

fortune of Sulla, the bravery of Lucullus, and the greatness of Pompey, brought to nothing.

As a pretext for war, he alleged to our ambassador Cassius that Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, was wasting his borders. Moved by ambition, however, he burned with a desire to grasp all Asia, and if he could, all Europe. Our vices gave him hope and confidence; for while we were distracted by civil wars, the opportunity of assailing us tempted him. Marius, Sulla, and Sertorius showed him from a distance that the empire was exposed to attack. In the midst of the sufferings and disturbances of the commonwealth, therefore, the tempest of the Pontic War, seizing its opportunity, suddenly descended as from the extreme heights of the north upon a people wearied and preoccupied with other matters. Its first eruption at once snatched Bithynia from us. A similar terror next fell upon Asia, and our cities and people forthwith revolted to the king. He was himself active and aggressive, and exercised cruelty as if he thought it a virtue. What could be more atrocious than one of his edicts, which ordered all citizens of Rome who were in Asia to be put to death? Then indeed homes, temples, and altars and all obligations, human and divine, were violated.

Rome, p. 176; *Ancient History*, p. 362.

(Asia, province of.)

This terror in Asia opened to the king a passage into Europe. Despatched thither, Archelaüs and Neoptolemus, two of his generals, seized the Cyclades, Delos, Eubœa, all the islands, — except Rhodes, which clung to us more firmly than ever, — and Athens, the glory of Greece. The dread of the king affected even Italy and the city of Rome itself.

Sulla conducts the war.

Lucius Sulla, therefore, who excelled in military affairs, hastened to oppose him, and repelled as with a push of the hand the enemy who was advancing with equal spirit. Athens, the mother of grain, he compelled by famine and siege to eat the flesh of human beings — who could believe so strange a tale? Then after undermining the harbor of the Peiræus, with its six walls and more, and after reducing "the most ungrateful of men," as he himself called the

(Attica was the home of Demeter, goddess of agriculture.)

(In fact Peiræus had but one wall.)

Athenians, he spared them for the honor of their deceased ancestors and for the sake of their religion and fame. Next driving the king's garrisons from Eubœa and Bœotia, he dispersed the whole of the royal forces in one battle at Chæronea, and in a second at Orchomenus. Crossing into Asia soon afterward, he overthrew the monarch himself. At that point the war would have closed, had not Sulla desired to triumph over Mithridates hastily rather than completely.

Civil war, 83–82 B.C.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 76.

Rome, p. 171.

After speedily finishing all his business with Mithridates, Sulla hastened his return to meet his enemies. . . . He came home with a large, well disciplined army, devoted to him and elated by his exploits. He had abundance of ships, money, and apparatus suitable for all emergencies, and was an object of terror to his enemies. Carbo and Cinna were in such fear of him that they despatched emissaries to all parts of Italy to collect money, soldiers, and supplies.

Sulla's proscriptions, 82 B.C.

Plutarch, *Sulla*, 31.

(In two years of civil war Sulla destroyed the armies of the democratic leaders who opposed him, and then entered Rome all-powerful.) Now he began to make blood flow, and he filled the city with countless deaths. For private enmity many persons were murdered who never had anything to do with Sulla, but he consented to their death to please his partisans.

At last a young man, Gaius Metellus, had the boldness to ask Sulla in the senate-house when there would be an end to their miseries, and how far he would proceed before they could hope to see their misfortunes cease.

"We are not deprecating your vengeance against those whom you have determined to put out of the way," he said, "but we entreat you to relieve of uncertainty those whom you have determined to spare."

Sulla replied,

"I have not yet determined whom I will spare."

"Tell us then," Metellus said, "whom you intend to punish."

Sulla promised to do so. Some say it was not Metellus but Afidius, one of Sulla's flatterers, who made use of the last expression. Without communicating with any magistrate, Sulla immediately proscribed eighty persons. As this act caused a general murmur, he let one day pass, and then proscribed two hundred and twenty more, and again on the third day as many. In an address to the people he said, with reference to these measures, that he had proscribed all he could think of, and as to those who now escaped his memory, he would proscribe them at some future time.

It was a part of the proscription that every man who received and protected a proscribed person should be put to death for his humanity, and there was no exception for brothers, children, or parents. The reward for killing a proscribed person was two talents, whether it was a slave who killed his master or a son who killed his father. But what was considered most unjust of all, he affixed infamy on the sons and grandsons of all the proscribed, and confiscated their property.

Greed the ruling motive.

The proscriptions were not confined to Rome but extended to every city in Italy. Neither temple nor hospitable hearth nor father's house was free from murder; but husbands were butchered in the arms of their wives, and children in the embrace of their mothers. The number of those who were massacred through revenge and hatred was nothing compared with those who were murdered for their property. It occurred even to the assassins to notice that the ruin of such a one was due to his large house, another man owed his death to his orchard, and another again to his warm baths. Quintus Aurelius, who never meddled with public affairs, and who was no further concerned about all these calamities except so far as he sympathized with the sufferings of others, happened to come to the Forum, and there he read the names of the proscribed. Finding his own name among them, he exclaimed, "Alas, wretch that I am: my farm at Alba is my persecutor!" He had not

gone far before he was murdered by some one who was in search of him.

Sulla at Præneste.
Plutarch, *Sulla*, 32.

Meanwhile Marius (adopted son of the great Marius, and a democratic general in the civil war,) killed himself to avoid being taken. Sulla then went to Præneste (which Marius had held) and there began to examine the case of each individual before punishing him; but lacking time for this inquiry, he had all the people brought to one spot to the number of twelve thousand, and ordered them to be massacred, with the exception of one man, an old friend of his, whom he offered to pardon. But the man nobly declared he would never owe his safety to the destroyer of his country; and mingling with the rest of the citizens, he was cut down together with them.

His dictatorship, 82–79 B.C.
Plutarch, *Sulla*, 33.

Besides the massacres, other things caused dissatisfaction. Sulla had himself proclaimed dictator, and thus revived this office after an interval of a hundred and twenty years.

His legislation.
Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 100.

Twenty-four axes were carried in front of him, as was customary with dictators — the same number which was borne before the ancient kings; and he had besides a large body-guard. He repealed laws and enacted others. He forbade any one to hold the office of prætor till after he had held that of quæstor, or to be consul before he had been prætor, and he prohibited any man from holding the same office a second time till after the lapse of ten years. He reduced the tribunician power to such an extent that it seemed to be destroyed. He curtailed it by a law which provided that one holding the office of tribune should never afterward hold any other office. For this reason all men of reputation or family, who formerly contended for the office, shunned it thereafter. . . .

The senate, the plebeians, and the soldiers.

To the senate itself, which had been much thinned by seditions and wars, he added about three hundred members from the best of the knights, taking the vote of the tribes for each one. To the plebeians he added more than ten thousand slaves of proscribed persons, choosing the youngest

and strongest, to whom he gave freedom and Roman citizenship, and he called them Cornelii after himself. In this way he made sure of having ten thousand men among the plebeians always ready to obey his commands. In order to provide the same kind of safeguard throughout Italy, he distributed among the soldiers of the twenty-three legions, which had served under him, a great deal of land. This property lay in various communities; some of it was public and some taken from the communities by way of fine.

Sulla's abdication.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 103 f.

Sulla voluntarily laid down the supreme power. . . . He seems to me to have been the same masterful and able man in all respects, whether striving to reach supreme power from private life, or changing back to private life from supreme power, or later when passing his time in rural solitude; for he retired to his own estate at Cumæ in Italy, and there occupied his leisure in hunting and fishing. He did this not because he was afraid to live a private life in the city, nor because he had not sufficient bodily strength for whatever he might try to do. He was still of virile age and sound constitution, and there were a hundred and twenty thousand men throughout Italy who had recently served under him in war and had received large gifts of money and land from him, and there were the ten thousand Cornelii ready in the city, besides other people of his party devoted to him and still formidable to his opponents. All these people rested upon Sulla's safety their hopes of impunity for what they had done in coöperation with him. But I think he was satiated with war, with power, with city affairs, and that he took to rural life because he loved it.

His funeral.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 105.

(When he died in the following year) his corpse was borne through Italy on a golden litter with royal splendor. Musicians and horsemen went in great numbers in advance and a multitude of armed men followed on foot. His fellow-soldiers flocked from all directions under arms to join the procession, and each one was assigned his place in due order as he came. The crowd of other people was greater

than had ever before been collected. The standards and fasces which Sulla had used while living and ruling were carried in the procession.

When the remains reached the city, they were borne through the streets in an enormous procession. More than two thousand golden crowns, made in haste, were carried in it; they were the gifts of cities, and of the legions which he had commanded, and of individual friends. It would be impossible to describe all the splendid things contributed to this funeral. From fear of the assembled soldiery, all the priests and priestesses, each in proper costume, escorted the body. The entire senate and the whole company of magistrates attended with their insignia of office. A multitude of knights with their peculiar decorations followed, and in their turn, all the legions which had fought under him. They eagerly came together, all hastening to join in the task, and carried gilded standards and silver-plated shields, such as are still used on similar occasions. Appian, *Civil Wars*, 106.

There was a countless number of trumpeters who by turns played the most mournful dirges. Loud cries were raised, first by the senate, then by the knights, then by the soldiers, and finally by the plebeians. For some really longed for Sulla, but others were afraid of his army and of his dead body, as they had been of himself when living. As they looked at the spectacle before them and remembered what this man had accomplished, they were amazed, and agreed with their opponents that he had been most beneficial to his own party and most formidable to themselves even in death. The corpse was shown in the Forum on the rostra, where public speeches were usually made, and the most eloquent of Romans then living delivered the funeral oration, as Sulla's son Faustus was still very young. Then strong men of senatorial rank took up the litter and carried it to the Campus Martius, where kings only were buried, and the knights and the army coursed around the funeral pile. And this was the end of Sulla. *Ib.* 106.

STUDIES

1. Give an account of the parents of the Gracchi. How do Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus compare with Scipio Æmilianus?

2. How did the Romans dispose of acquired land (cf. ch. ii)? What resulted from these arrangements?

3. What were the provisions of the agrarian law of Tiberius? What was his aim? Who opposed and who supported him, and why?

4. Was the deposition of Octavius justifiable?

5. Why did Tiberius wish a second term? How was he killed? Was the conduct of the senators right and prudent? How far did they make themselves responsible for the violence and civil war of the next hundred years?

6. Describe the administration and character of Gaius Gracchus. Compare him with his brother. Should we call them statesmen or demagogues?

7. Write a biography of Marius including a description of his character. Was he more cruel than other men of his time?

8. From the senate's treatment of the Gracchi, as well as from its conduct of the Jugurthine War, what may we infer as to its character and ability? Had Sulla any real ground for believing that his laws would maintain it long in power?

9. Did Marius or Sulla have the better constitutional right to the command against Mithridates?

10. Did Cinna as consul have a right to appoint proconsuls?

11. Write a biography of Sulla, including an estimate of his character. Were his proscriptions wise and statesmanlike? In what way, if in any, did he benefit Rome? What light does the account of his funeral throw on Roman character?

CHAPTER VIII

The Revolution — (2) Pompey, Cæsar, and Octavius

THIRD PERIOD OF THE REPUBLIC — SECOND EPOCH (79–27 B.C.)

POMPEY

Gnæus Pompey.
Plutarch, *Pompey*, 1.

(AMONG the rising officers of the army Gnæus Pompey was most fitted to be the heir of Sulla's policy.) Never did the Roman people give to any other man so strong tokens of affection as to Pompey, or at so early an age, or which grew so rapidly with the good fortune of the receiver, or remained so firm in his misfortunes. The causes of their affection were many: his temperate life, his skill in arms, the persuasiveness of his speech, the integrity of his character, and his affability to every man who came in his way, so that there was no person from whom one could ask a favor with so little pain, whose requests one would more willingly strive to satisfy. In addition to his other endearing qualities, Pompey could do a kindness without seeming to do it, and could receive a favor with dignity.

His appearance.
Plutarch, *Pompey*, 2.

At first his face, too, contributed greatly to win the good will of the people, and to secure a favorable reception before he opened his mouth. For the sweetness of his expression was mingled with dignity and kindness; and while he was yet in the very bloom of youth, his noble and kingly nature clearly showed itself. The slight falling back of the hair and the expression of the eyes caused people to notice a resemblance to the portraits of Alexander, though in fact the likeness was more talked of than real.

Under Sulla. (While still a young man Pompey raised an army by his own means, and joined Sulla in his war upon the democrats. He then went to Sicily to suppress the popular party in that island, and soon returned victorious.)

Plutarch, *Pompey*, 8. When Sulla saw him approaching, and near him his army, admirable for the brave appearance of the men and elated with success, he dismounted from his horse to meet the young man. Addressed according to custom by the title *Imperator*, Sulla addressed Pompey in return as Imperator, though nobody could have expected that Sulla would give a young man, who was not yet a member of the senate, the title for which he was himself fighting against the Scipios and the Marii. In fact everything accorded with this first greeting; for Sulla used to rise from his seat and uncover his head as Pompey approached, — an honor he would show to hardly any other person, though there were many distinguished men about him.

Rome, p. 192.

Pompey was not made vain by these marks of distinction, however, but sent forthwith into Gaul by Sulla. . . . he performed noble exploits. . . . Brilliant as they were, these deeds were buried under the number and magnitude of his later struggles and wars ; so that I have been afraid to disturb them, lest if we should dwell too long on his first achievements, we should miss the more important acts and events, which best show his character.

Sertorius. Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 108. Of the Sullan troubles there remained the war with Sertorius, which had been going on for eight years, and which was no easy war for Rome, as it was waged not merely against Spaniards but against the Romans and Sertorius. He had been chosen governor of Spain while he was coöperating with Carbo against Sulla, and after taking the city of Suessa under an armistice, he fled and assumed his governorship. With an army from Italy itself and another raised from the Celtiberians, he drove from Spain the former governors, who to favor Sulla refused to surrender the government to him. He fought nobly, too, against Metellus,

whom Sulla had sent to oppose him. After acquiring a reputation for bravery, he enrolled a council of three hundred members from the friends who were with him, and called it the Roman senate in derision of the real one.

After the death of Sulla, and later of Lepidus (a democratic leader), Sertorius obtained another Italian army which Perpenna, the lieutenant of Lepidus, brought him. It was now supposed that he intended to march against Italy itself, and he would have done so, had not the senate become alarmed and sent another army and general into Spain in addition to the former forces. This general was Pompey, who was still a young man, but renowned for his exploits under Sulla. (Sertorius was himself unconquerable; but when at length he was assassinated, Perpenna, his faithless lieutenant, easily fell a prey to Pompey.)

76 B.C.

72 B.C.

The Servile War (or Gladiatorial War), 73–71 B.C.

After staying long enough to end the chief disturbances, and to quiet and settle the most dangerous troubles, Pompey led his army back to Italy, where he chanced to arrive at the time the Servile War was at its height.

Plutarch, *Pompey*, 21.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 116.

Spartacus, by birth a Thracian, who had once served as a soldier with the Romans, had since become a prisoner, and had been sold for a gladiator. While he was in the gladiatorial training-school at Capua, he persuaded about seventy of his comrades to strike for their own freedom, rather than for the amusement of spectators. They overcame the guards and ran away. Arming themselves with clubs and daggers, which they took from people on the roads, they sought refuge on Mount Vesuvius. . . . Afterward still greater throngs flocked to Spartacus, till his army numbered seventy thousand men. For them he manufactured weapons and collected apparatus.

Ib. i. 118.

This war, so formidable to the Romans, had now lasted three years. When the election of prætors came on, fear fell upon all, and nobody offered himself as a candidate until Licinius Crassus, a man distinguished among the Romans for birth and wealth, assumed the prætorship, and marched

with six legions against Spartacus. . . . Presently he overcame ten thousand insurgents, who were encamped in a detached position, and killed two-thirds of them.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 119.

Believing that the work still to be done against Spartacus was great and severe, the government ordered up as a reenforcement the army of Pompey, which had just arrived from Spain.

Plutarch, *Pompey*, 21.

This was the reason why Crassus, the commander, risked a battle, which he gained with the slaughter of twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy. But Fortune, as we may say, adopted Pompey into this success also, for five thousand men who escaped from the battle fell in his way. After destroying all of them, he took the opportunity of writing first to the senate that whereas Crassus had conquered the gladiators in a pitched battle, he had himself pulled up the war by the roots. And this was agreeable for the Romans to hear, because of their good will to Pompey.

The pirates.

Florus iii. 6.

Meantime, while the Romans were engaged in different parts of the world, the Cilicians had spread themselves over the sea, and by obstructing commerce and by breaking the bonds of human society, had made the sea as impassable through piracy as it would have been rendered by a tempest.

Plutarch, *Pompey*, 24.

And now men who were powerful in wealth and of distinguished birth, and who claimed superior education, began to embark on piratical vessels and to share in their undertakings. as if the occupation were reputable and an object of ambition. In many places were piratical posts and fortified beacons, at which armaments put in. For this peculiar occupation swift light fleets were fitted out with bold vigorous crews and skilful helmsmen. More annoying than their formidable appearance was their arrogant and pompous equipment with golden streamers and purple sails and silvered oars, as if they rioted in their evil practices and prided themselves on them. Their playing on flutes and stringed instruments and their drinking along the whole coast, their seizure of persons high in office, and their holding captured

cities for ransom, disgraced the Roman supremacy. The piratical ships had now increased to above a thousand, and the cities seized by them were four hundred.

But their most insulting conduct was of the following nature. Whenever a captive called out that he was a Roman and mentioned his name, they would pretend to be terrified, and would strike their thighs and fall down at his knees praying him to pardon them; and their captive would believe all this to be real, seeing that they were humble and suppliant. Then some would put Roman shoes on his feet, and others would throw over him a toga, pretending it was done that there might be no mistake about him again. When they had for some time mocked the man in this way, and had their fill of amusement, they would put a ladder down into the sea, and bid him step out and go away with their best wishes for a good journey; and if the man would not go, they pushed him into the water.

Pompey conquers them, 67 B.C. Florus iii. 6. *Rome*, p. 178; *Ancient History*, p. 363.

Pompey directed his efforts against Cilicia, the source and origin of the war. Neither did the enemy shrink from an engagement with him nor lose confidence in their strength; hard pressed, they were willing to dare. They did no more than meet the first onset, however, for immediately afterward when they saw the beaks of our ships encircling them, they threw down their weapons and oars, and with a great clapping of hands, which with them was a sign of supplication, begged for quarter.

Never did we obtain a victory with so little bloodshed. Nor was any nation afterward found so faithful to us, — a state of things secured by the remarkable prudence of the general, who removed this maritime people far from the sight of the sea, and tied them down, as it were, to the inland parts of the country. Thus he recovered the free use of the sea for ships, and at the same time restored to the land its own inhabitants.

In this victory what shall we most admire? Its speed, as it was gained in forty days? Its good fortune, as not a

single ship was lost? Or its durable effect, as the Cilicians in consequence were never afterward pirates?

Catiline and Cicero

The Conspiracy of Catiline, 63 B.C.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 2.

At this time Lucius Catiline was a person of importance, of great celebrity, and high birth, but a madman. It was believed that he had killed his own son because of his own love for Aurelia Orestilla, who was not willing to marry a man who had a son. He had been a friend and zealous partisan of Sulla. He had reduced himself to poverty in order to gratify his ambition, but still he was courted by the powerful, both men and women, and he became a candidate for the consulship as a step leading to absolute power.

He confidently expected to be elected, but the suspicion of his ulterior designs defeated him; and Cicero, the most eloquent orator and rhetorician of the period, was chosen instead. Catiline, by way of raillery and contempt for those who voted for Cicero, called him a "New Man" on account of his obscure birth — for so they called those who achieved distinction by their own merits and not by those of their ancestors; and because he was not born in the city, Catiline called him a lodger, by which term they designate those who occupy houses belonging to others.

His methods.

From this time Catiline abstained wholly from politics as not leading quickly and surely to absolute power, but as full of the spirit of contention and malice. He procured much money from many women, who hoped that their husbands would be killed in the uprising; and he formed a conspiracy with a number of senators and knights, and collected together a body of plebeians, foreign residents, and slaves. His leading fellow-conspirators were Cornelius Lentulus and Cethegus, who were then the city prætors. He sent agents throughout Italy to those of Sulla's soldiers who had squandered the gains of their former life of plunder, and who longed for a renewal of violence. For this purpose he sent

Gaius Manlius to Fæsula in Etruria, and others to Picenum and Apulia, who enlisted soldiers for him secretly.

The conspiracy divulged.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 3.

All these facts, while they were still secret, were communicated to Cicero by Fulvia, a woman of quality. Her lover, Quintus Curius, who had been expelled from the senate for immorality, and was one of the conspirators, told her in a vain and boastful way that he would soon be in a position of great power. And now a rumor of what was transpiring in Italy was noised about. Accordingly Cicero stationed guards at intervals throughout the city, and sent many of the nobility to the suspected places to watch what was going on.

Cicero denounces Catiline.

Cicero, *Against Catiline*, i.

(Catiline had the boldness to take his usual place in the senate, whereupon Cicero delivered against him a terrible invective. Some extracts from this speech are given below.)

How long, Catiline, will you abuse our patience? How long will your frantic rage baffle the efforts of justice? To what height do you mean to carry your daring insolence? Are you not daunted by the nightly watch posted to secure the Palatine Hill? or by the city guards? or by the fear of the people? or by the union of all the wise and worthy citizens? or by the senate's assembling in this place of strength? or by the looks and faces of all here present? Do you not see that all your designs are brought to light? that the senators are thoroughly informed of your conspiracy? that they are acquainted with what you did last night and the night before, your place of meeting, the company you summoned, and the measures you concerted? Alas for our degeneracy! alas for the depravity of the times; the senate is informed of this whole plot, the consul sees it, yet the traitor lives. Lives, did I say? He even comes into the senate; he shares in the public deliberations; he marks us out with his eye for destruction. We, bold in our country's cause, think we have sufficiently done our duty to the state, if we can but escape his rage and deadly darts. Long ago, Catiline, ought the consul to have ordered your execution, and to have directed upon your own

head the ruin you have long been meditating against us all. . . .

All hate Catiline.

For my part, were my slaves to discover such a dread of me as your fellow-citizens express of you, I should think it necessary to abandon my own house; and do you hesitate to leave the city? Were I even wrongfully suspected, and thereby rendered obnoxious to my countrymen, I would sooner withdraw myself from public view than be beheld with looks full of reproach and indignation. And do you, whose conscience tells you that you are the object of a universal, just, and long-merited hatred, delay a moment to escape from the looks and presence of a people whose eyes and senses can no longer endure you among them? Should your parents dread and hate you, and resist all your efforts to appease them, you would doubtless withdraw from their sight.

His country pleads with him.

But now your country, the common parent of us all, hates and dreads you, and has long regarded you as a parricide, intent on the purpose of destroying her. And will you neither respect her authority, submit to her advice, nor stand in awe of her power? Thus does she reason with you, Catiline; thus does she, though silent, in some manner address you: "Not an enormity has happened these many years but has had you for its author; not a crime has been perpetrated without you. The murder of so many of our citizens, the oppression and the plunder of our allies has through you alone escaped punishment, though carried on with unrestrained violence. You have found means not only to trample on law and justice but even to subvert and destroy them. Though this past behavior of yours was beyond all patience, yet I have borne with it as I could; but now to be in continual fear of you alone, on every alarm to tremble at the name of Catiline, to see no plots formed against me which speak not of you as their author, is altogether insupportable. Begone, then, and rid me of my present terror; that if just, I may avoid ruin; if groundless, I may at length cease to fear! . . ."

All traitors should leave the city.

It is now a long time, senators, that we have trod amid the dangers and machinations of this conspiracy; but I know not how it comes to pass, that the full maturity of all those crimes, and of this long-ripening rage and insolence, has now broken out in the period of my consulship. Should he alone be removed from this powerful band of traitors, it may abate perhaps our fears and anxieties for a while, but the danger will still remain, and continue lurking in the veins and vitals of the republic. . . . Wherefore, senators, let the wicked retire; let them separate themselves from the honest; let them gather in one place. As I have often said, let a wall be between them and us. Let them cease to lay snares for the consul in his own house, to beset the tribunal of the city prætor, to invest the senate-house with armed ruffians, and prepare fire-balls and torches for burning the city. In brief, let every man's sentiments regarding the republic be inscribed on his forehead.

May Jupiter save the state and destroy its enemies!

This I engage for and promise, senators, that by the diligence of the consuls, the weight of your authority, the courage and firmness of the Roman knights, and the unanimity of all who are honest, Catiline shall be driven forth from the city, and you shall behold all his treasons detected, exposed, crushed, and punished. With these omens of all prosperity to the republic but of destruction to yourself, Catiline, and to those who have joined themselves with you in all kinds of parricide, go your way to this impious and abominable war. And do thou, Jupiter, whose religion was established with the foundation of this city — thou whom we truly call the Stayer, the support and prop of this empire — drive this man and his associates from thy altars and temples, from the houses and walls of the city, from the lives and fortunes of us all; and destroy with eternal punishments, in life and death, all the haters of good men, all the enemies of their country, all the plunderers of Italy, now joined in this detestable league and partnership of villainy!

The "Father of his Country."

(The traitor fled from Rome, and was soon afterward defeated and killed in battle. Meantime Cicero had arrested and put to death some chiefs of the conspiracy who remained in the city.)

Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 7.

Such was the end of the uprising of Catiline, which brought the city into extreme peril. Cicero, who had hitherto been distinguished only for eloquence, was now in everybody's mouth as a man of action, and was considered unquestionably the saviour of his country on the eve of its destruction. For this reason the thanks of the assembly were bestowed upon him amid general acclamations. At the instance of Cato the people saluted him Father of his Country.

P. 155.

(For some years after these events the interest in Roman history centres chiefly in Cæsar.)

STUDIES

1. Why did the Romans love Pompey? To what political party did he belong? Was he or Sertorius the greater general?

2. Give an account of the Servile War (or war with Spartacus). Who deserves the chief credit for ending it?

3. Describe the pirates and their doings. What must have been the condition of the Roman government which allowed them to grow so dangerous? How did Pompey break their power?

4. Give an account of Catiline's conspiracy. Describe his character. Who discovered and crushed the conspiracy? What are the points made by Cicero in the speech partly quoted? What reward did Cicero receive for his patriotic energy?

CHAPTER VIII (*continued*)

The Revolution — (2) Pompey, Cæsar, and Octavius

(79–27 B.C.)

CÆSAR

Birth and character.
Velleius ii. 41.

Gaius Julius Cæsar was born of the most noble, and as all writers admit, most ancient family of the Julii, which derived its origin from Anchises and Venus. In personal beauty he was the first of all his countrymen, in vigor of mind indefatigable, liberal to excess, in spirit elevated above the nature and conception of man. In the grandeur of his designs, in the celebrity of his military operations, and in the cheerful facing of dangers, he exactly resembled Alexander the Great when sober and free from passion. He was closely connected in kinship with Gaius Marius and a son-in-law of Cinna. For these reasons, though he was only about nineteen years old when Sulla assumed the government, the ministers and creatures of Sulla — more than the dictator himself — searched for Cæsar to kill him, whereupon he changed his clothes; and putting on a dress far inferior to his rank, he escaped from the country in the night. Afterward while he was still very young, he was captured by pirates.

Among the pirates.
Plutarch, *Cæsar*, 2.

The pirates asked Cæsar twenty talents as a ransom, but he laughed at them for not knowing who their prize was, and promised them fifty talents. While he despatched his attendants to various cities to raise the money, he was left

with one friend and two servants among the Cilician pirates, who were notorious for their cruelty. He treated them, however, with such contempt that whenever he was lying down to rest, he would send them his command to be quiet. He spent thirty-eight days among them, not so much like a prisoner as a prince surrounded by his guards, and he joined in their sports and exercises with perfect unconcern. He also wrote poems and some speeches, which he read to them, and those who did not approve of his compositions he would call to their faces ignorant fellows and barbarians, and he often told them with a laugh that he would hang them all.

The pirates were pleased with his manners, and attributed this freedom of speech to simplicity and a mirthful disposition. As soon as the ransom came from Miletus, and Cæsar had paid it and was set at liberty, he manned some vessels in the port of Miletus and went after the pirates, whom he found still on the island. Most of them he captured.

(Pharmacusa, an island near Miletus.)

His consulship, 59 B.C.

After entering upon his consulship, he introduced a new regulation, that the daily acts of the senate and of the assemblies should be committed to writing and published. . . .

Suetonius, *Julius Cæsar*, 20.

When he presented to the people a bill for the division of some public lands, the other consul opposed him. Thereupon Cæsar violently drove his colleague from the Forum. Next day in the senate the insulted consul complained of his ill treatment; but no one had the courage to bring the matter forward or move a censure, which had often been done in the case of less important outrages. Cæsar's colleague was so much dispirited, therefore, that till the expiration of his office he never stirred from home, and did nothing but issue edicts to obstruct the other consul's proceedings.

From that time, therefore, Cæsar had the sole management of public affairs; so that some wags, when they signed any document as witnesses, did not add "in the consulship

of Cæsar and Bibulus," but "of Julius and Cæsar," putting the same person down twice under his name and surname. The following verses, too, were repeated with reference to this matter:

> Nothing was done in Bibulus' year;
> No, Cæsar only was consul here.

His campaigns in Gaul, 58-50 B.C.

Plutarch, *Cæsar*, 15.

Such was the course of Cæsar's life before his Gallic campaigns. But the period of the wars which he now carried on, and of the expedition by which he subdued Gaul, is a new beginning in his career and the opening of a new course of life and action, in which he showed himself a soldier and a general inferior to none who have gained admiration as leaders of men. For whether we compare Cæsar's exploits with those of the Fabii, the Scipios, and the Metelli, or with those of his contemporaries or immediate predecessors, — Sulla and Marius and both the Luculli or even Pompey himself, whose fame, high as the heavens, was blossoming at that time in every kind of military excellence, — Cæsar will be found to surpass them all.

His superiority over one appears in the difficulties of the country in which he carried on his campaigns, over another in the extent of country subdued, over a third in the number and courage of the enemy whom he defeated, over another again in the savage manners and treacherous character of the nations which he civilized, over a fourth in clemency and mildness to the conquered, over another again in his donations and liberality to his soldiers; and in a word, his superiority over all other generals appears in the number of battles which he fought and of enemies whom he slew.

For in somewhat less than ten years, during which he carried on his campaigns in Gaul, he took by storm eight hundred cities, and subdued three hundred nations, and fought at different times against three millions of men, of whom he destroyed one million in battle and took as many prisoners.

Plutarch, *Cæsar*, 16.

So great were the good will and devotion of Cæsar's soldiers to him that those who, under other generals, were in no way superior to ordinary soldiers were, under Cæsar, irresistible and ready to meet any danger for their commander's glory.

Description of Gaul.

Cæsar, *Gallic War*, i. 1.

Gaul as a whole is divided into three parts, one of which is occupied by the Belgians, another by the Aquitanians, and a third by those who in their own language are called Celts, but in ours Gauls. The Garonne River separates the Gauls from the Aquitanians; the Marne and the Seine flow between them and the Belgians. Of all these peoples, the Belgians are the bravest, because they are the farthest from the civilization and refinement of our Province, and merchants less frequently resort to them and import those commodities which tend to weaken the mind; and they are the nearest to the Germans, who dwell across the Rhine, with whom the Belgians are continually waging war. For the same reason the rest of the Gauls are inferior in valor to the Helvetians, who contend with the Germans in almost daily battles. In these contests the Helvetians are either repelling the Germans from their lands or themselves waging war on the German frontiers.

The factions of the Gauls.

Cæsar, *Gallic War*, vi. 11.

It does not appear foreign to our subject to lay before the reader an account of the manners of Gaul and Germany, and to explain the differences between these two nations. In Gaul there are factions not only in all the states and in all the cantons and their divisions but almost in each family, and of these factions those are the leaders who are supposed to possess the greatest influence, upon whose will and judgment the management of all affairs and measures depends. And this custom seems to have been instituted in ancient times in order that no one of the common people might be in want of support against a more powerful person; for no leader suffers his party to be oppressed or defrauded; and if he does otherwise, he no longer has influence in his

party. The same policy exists throughout Gaul, for all the states are divided into two factions.

The Ædui and the Sequani.

Cæsar, *Gallic War*, vi. 12.

When Cæsar arrived in Gaul, the Ædui were the leaders of one faction, the Sequani of the other. As the chief influence from of old was with the Ædui, who had great dependencies, the Sequani, who were inferior, had united to themselves the Germans under Ariovistus, and by great sacrifices and promises had brought these foreigners over to their own party. After fighting several successful battles and killing all the nobility of the Ædui, the Sequani had come to surpass them in power to such an extent that they brought over from the Ædui to themselves a large number of their dependents, and received from their defeated rivals the sons of the leading men as hostages, and compelled them to swear publicly that they would enter into no design against their conquerors. A portion of the neighboring country the Sequani seized by force, and acquired the leadership of the whole of Gaul.

Divitiacus (the Æduan leader), urged by this necessity, had gone to Rome to the senate for the purpose of asking assistance, and had returned without accomplishing his object.

Cæsar favors the Ædui and the Remi.

On the arrival of Cæsar a change of affairs took place; the hostages were returned to the Ædui, their old dependencies were restored, and they acquired new subjects through Cæsar; for those who attached themselves as (dependent) allies to the Ædui saw that they enjoyed a better state and a milder government. The interests, the influence, and the reputation of the Ædui increased, and consequently the Sequani lost the leadership of Gaul. The Remi succeeded to their place; and as all could see that they equalled the Ædui in favor with Cæsar, those who disliked to join the Ædui placed themselves in clientship to the Remi. The latter carefully protected them, and in this way suddenly acquired new influence. The state of affairs, accordingly, was that the Ædui were considered by far the leading people, and the Remi held the second post of honor.

The druids.

Cæsar, *Gallic War*, vi. 13.

Throughout Gaul are two orders of men who have rank and dignity; for the common people are held almost in the condition of slaves: they dare do nothing of themselves, and take no part in deliberation. The greater number, when pressed by debt or by heavy taxes or oppressed by the more powerful, give themselves up in vassalage to the nobles, who possess over them the same rights without exception as masters exercise over their slaves. Of these two orders of nobles one is that of the druids, the other that of the knights. The former are engaged in religious duties: they conduct the public and private sacrifices and interpret all matters of religion.

They are the judges.

To this class a large number of young men resort for instruction and all hold the druids in high honor. For these priests decide almost all controversies, public and private; and if any crime has been perpetrated, if murder has been committed, or if there is any dispute about inheritance or about boundaries, these same persons decide it. They decree rewards and punishments: and if any one either publicly or privately refuses to submit to their decision, they interdict him from the sacrifices. This among them is the heaviest punishment. Those who have been thus interdicted are esteemed impious and criminal: all shun them and avoid their society and conversation, lest they receive some evil from the contact: neither is justice administered to them when they seek it, nor is any dignity bestowed on them.

Their organization.

Over all these druids one presides, who possesses supreme authority among them. On his death any individual who is preëminent in dignity succeeds: but if many are equal, the election is made by the votes of the druids: sometimes they even contend in arms for the presidency. The members of the class gather at a fixed period of the year in a consecrated place in the territory of the Carnutes, which is considered the central region of the whole of Gaul. Hither all who have disputes assemble from every quarter, and submit to their decrees and decisions. This institution is supposed to have

been devised in Britain, and to have been brought over from there to Gaul; and now those who wish to gain a more accurate knowledge of that system go thither for the purpose of studying it.

Their learning. Cæsar, *Gallic War*, vi. 14.

The druids do not engage in war or pay tribute as the rest; they are exempt from military service and from all other burdens. Induced by such advantages, many embrace this profession of their own accord, and many are sent to it by their parents and kinsmen. In their preparation they are said to commit to memory a great number of verses; some accordingly continue in training twenty years. And they do not think it lawful to put these verses in writing, though in almost all other matters, in their public and private business, they use the Greek alphabet. This practice, in my opinion, they have adopted for two reasons; first because they do not wish their doctrines to be divulged among the mass of people, and secondly that the learners may not in reliance on writing be less inclined to exercise the memory. For in their dependence on writing most men relax their diligence in learning thoroughly and in memorizing.

The transmigration of souls.

The druids wish to inculcate this as one of their leading tenets, that souls do not become extinct, but pass after death from one body to another, and they think this doctrine excites men to great valor, and to disregard the fear of death. They discuss astronomy, too, and impart to the youth much information respecting the stars and their motion, the extent of the world and of our earth, the nature of things, and the power and majesty of the immortal gods.

The knights. Cæsar, *Gallic War* vi. 15.

The other order is that of the knights. Before Cæsar's arrival, war was carried on nearly every year, as each tribe was either inflicting injuries or repelling those inflicted by others; and whenever there is war, all the knights are engaged. Those who are most distinguished by birth and resources have the greatest number of vassals and clients; in fact this is the only sort of influence and power which they acknowledge.

Human sacrifices.

Cæsar, *Gallic War*, vi. 16.

The Gallic nation is exceedingly devoted to superstitious rites; and for this reason all who are troubled with unusually severe diseases, and all who are engaged in battles and dangers, either sacrifice men as victims or vow to sacrifice them, and employ druids as performers of these rites. For they think that unless the life of a man is offered for the life of a man, the immortal gods cannot be rendered propitious. They therefore have human sacrifices for national purposes. Some make figures of vast size, from the limbs of osiers, and fill the interior with living men. They then set these figures on fire, so that the men perish in the flames. They consider that the offering of those taken in theft, in robbery, or in any other offence, is more acceptable to the immortal gods; but when a supply of that class is wanting, they have recourse to the offering even of the innocent.

Their gods.

Cæsar, *Gallic War*, vi. 17.

(The Romans identified foreign deities with their own.)

They worship Mercury especially. They have many images of him, and regard him as the inventor of all arts and the guide of their journeys and marches; they believe, too, that he helps them greatly to gain wealth and to carry on mercantile business. Next to him they worship Apollo and Mars and Jupiter and Minerva. Regarding these deities they have for the most part the same belief as other nations: that Apollo averts diseases, that Minerva teaches the useful arts, that Jupiter possesses the sovereignty over the heavenly powers, that Mars presides over wars. It is their custom when they have decided upon battle, to vow to Mars those things which they shall take in war. When they have conquered, they sacrifice the captured animals which have survived, and all the rest of the booty they collect into one place. In many states you may see piles of these things heaped up in their consecrated spots; and it does not often happen that any one so disregards the sanctity of the place as to secrete captured goods in his house or carry off those which have been deposited; for such a deed has been prescribed the most severe punishment by torture.

All the Gauls assert that they are descended from the god

Dis — a tradition handed down, they say, by the druids. For this reason they compute the divisions of every season not by the number of days but of nights; in their birthdays and in the beginnings of their months and years the day follows the night. Among their other usages they differ from almost all other nations in this respect, that they do not permit their children to approach them openly till they are grown up so as to be able to bear the service of war; and they regard it as indecorous for a son of boyish age to stand in public in the presence of his father.

Strange customs.

Cæsar, *Gallic War*, vi. 18.

Whatever sums of money the husbands have received as dowry with their wives, they estimate, and add the same amount from their own estates. An account is kept of this whole sum and the profits are laid by; so that the one who survives the other may receive the portion of both, together with the profits. Husbands have power of life and death over their wives as well as over their children. When the father of a family of uncommonly high rank has died, his kinsmen assemble; and if the circumstances of his death are suspicious, they investigate the conduct of the wives in the same way as that of slaves; and if proof is obtained, they put the wives to severe torture and kill them.

The family.

Cæsar, *Gallic War*, vi. 19.

In view of the state of civilization among the Gauls, their funerals are magnificent and costly. As one of the funeral rites they cast into the fire all those possessions of the deceased, including living creatures, which they suppose to have been dear to him in his life. Until lately slaves and clients who were known to have been beloved by the deceased were burned with his body at the close of the funeral rites.

Funerals.

The best regulated states ordain by law that if any person hears by rumor anything from his neighbors concerning public affairs, he shall impart it to a magistrate but to no other; for it has been discovered that unthinking and inexperienced men are often alarmed by false reports, and driven to some rash act, or else take hasty measures in very important

Censorship of news.

Cæsar, *Gallic War*, vi. 20.

affairs. The magistrates conceal the news which ought to be kept unknown, and disclose to the people whatever they think expedient.

The Germans.

Cæsar, *Gallic War*, vi. 21.

Very different from the Gallic customs are those of the Germans, for they have no druids to preside over sacred offices nor do they pay great regard to sacrifices. They consider as gods those only whom they behold, and by whom they are clearly benefited. These beings are the Sun, Fire, and the Moon; of other deities they have not even heard. Their whole life is occupied in hunting and in the pursuit of the military art; from childhood they devote themselves to fatigue and hardships. . . . They bathe in the rivers; and as they wear skins only or small cloaks of deer's hides, a large part of the body remains bare.

Occupation and homes.

Cæsar, *Gallic War*, vi. 22.

They pay little attention to agriculture. Their food, therefore, consists mostly of milk, cheese, and meat. No one has a fixed quantity of land or a definite abode, but the magistrates annually distribute among the clans and families as much land as they think sufficient, and locate it according to their judgment; every year a change of abode is required. By means of this law they take care lest the people, led astray by long-continued custom, may exchange their warlike ardor for agriculture; lest they may be anxious to acquire large estates, and the more powerful drive the weaker from their possessions; lest they build their houses with too great a desire to avoid heat and cold; lest there may spring up a love of wealth, from which divisions and discords arise; and their final object is to keep the common people contented by allowing each one to see his own means on an equality with those of the greatest nobles.

Frontiers.

Cæsar, *Gallic War*, vi. 23.

It is the highest glory of the several states to lay waste their frontiers so as to have as wide deserts as possible around them. That neighbors shall be driven from their lands and abandon them, and that no one dare settle near, — this condition of affairs each state takes as evidence of

its own prowess; for the same reason it considers itself the more secure, because it has the less fear of a sudden attack from without.

Chiefs.

When a state either repels or wages war, it chooses magistrates with power of life and death to take the lead in the war. In peace the state has no common ruler, but the chiefs of districts and cantons administer justice and decide disputes among their own people. Robberies committed beyond the borders of a state bring no disgrace; the people hold that these depredations are committed for the purpose of disciplining their youth and of preventing sloth. When any chief says in an assembly, "I will be your leader (in an expedition for robbery); all who are willing to follow, give in your names," they who approve of the enterprise and of the man arise and promise assistance, while the people applaud them; and those who fail to keep this promise are looked upon as deserters and traitors, and are refused confidence in all matters.

Hospitality.

To injure guests they regard as impious; they defend from harm all who have come to them for any purpose whatever, and esteem them inviolable; to such strangers the houses of all are open and entertainment is freely supplied.

The Hercynian forest.

Cæsar, *Gallic War*, vi. 25.

(An immense forest in southern Germany.)

To a quick traveller the breadth of the Hercynian forest is a nine days' journey; for it cannot be computed in any other way as the natives are unacquainted with the measure of roads. It begins on the Helvetian frontier . . . and extends directly along the Danube River to the country of the Dacians and the Anartes; thence bending to the left, it diverges from the river and because of its great extent it touches the borders of many nations. No one in this part of Germany will say he has ever reached the end of that forest, though he has advanced through it a journey of sixty days, or has ever heard where it begins. It certainly produces many kinds of wild beasts which are seen nowhere else. Those mentioned below differ from other animals and are worthy of description.

The reindeer.

Cæsar, *Gallic War*, vi. 26.

There is an ox of the shape of a stag, between whose ears a horn rises from the middle of the forehead, higher and straighter than any horns known to us. From the top of it long branches extend like palms. The male and the female are of the same shape, and their horns have the same form and size.

Elks.

Cæsar, *Gallic War*, vi. 27.

There are animals, too, which are called elks. In shape and in the varied color of their skins they resemble goats, but are somewhat larger. They have no horns, and their legs are without joints or ligatures; hence they do not lie down to rest, and if thrown down by accident, they cannot raise themselves up. Trees are their beds; the animals lean against these supports, and thus reclining but slightly, they take their rest. When the huntsmen have discovered the abode of these animals from their tracks, they either undermine all the trees at the roots, or cut into them so far that the parts above have nothing more than the appearance of standing. When according to habit the animals lean upon the unsupported trees, their weight tips the trees over and the animals themselves fall along with them.

Bisons.

Cæsar, *Gallic War*, vi. 28.

A third kind of animals is the so-called bisons (or wild oxen). They are a little smaller than the elephant and resemble a bull in appearance, color, and form. Their strength and speed are extraordinary; they spare neither man nor wild beast which comes within their sight.

The Germans kill these animals after capturing them with great difficulty in pits. The young men harden themselves with exercise in this kind of hunting; and those who have killed the greatest number exhibit the horns in public as evidence of success, for which they receive great praise. But not even when taken very young can they be tamed and made familiar to men. In size, shape, and appearance, their horns are quite different from those of our oxen. These horns the Germans anxiously collect, and binding the tips with silver, they use them as cups at the most sumptuous banquets.

(Before Cæsar began the conquest of Gaul, he had formed with Pompey and Crassus a political alliance known as the First Triumvirate. By combining their great powers these three men could control the entire Roman world. The following selections give some account of this triumvirate, and of the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar which followed the conquest of Gaul.)

The First Triumvirate, 60–53 B.C.

Florus iv. 2.

In the consulship of Quintus Metellus and Lucius Afranius, when the majesty of Rome dominated the world, and the imperial city was celebrating in Pompey's theatre her recent victories over Pontus and Armenia, the overgrown power of Pompey, as is usual in such cases, excited the idle citizens to envy of him. Metellus, discontented with the lessening of his triumph over Crete, and Cato, ever an enemy of those in power, slandered Pompey and raised a clamor against his acts. Anger at these doings drove Pompey to harsh measures and compelled him to provide a support to his authority. Crassus, distinguished for family, wealth, and honor, desired still greater power. Gaius Cæsar had become eminent by his eloquence and spirit, and by his promotion to the consulship. Pompey however towered above them both. Cæsar, eager to acquire distinction, Crassus to increase what he had, and Pompey to add to his influence, — and all equally covetous of power, — formed an agreement to seize the government. As they were all striving with their common forces, each for his own advancement, Cæsar took the province of Gaul, Crassus that of Asia, Pompey that of Spain. With their three vast armies they held the empire of the world.

Pompey and Cæsar are rivals.

Their government extended through ten years. During this period they were restrained by fear of one another; but at its close Pompey and Cæsar became rivals, for Crassus had died among the Parthians. Julia, the wife of Pompey and daughter of Cæsar, had maintained peace between the two men, but she also was now dead.

Thereafter the power of Cæsar was an object of jealousy

to Pompey, and the eminence of Pompey was offensive to Cæsar. The one could not bear an equal or the other a superior. . . . Accordingly as their bond of union had been broken, the senate, championed by Pompey, began to think of a successor to Cæsar in the proconsulship of Gaul. Cæsar did not refuse to comply with their desires, provided they should regard his wishes as to the coming elections. But the consulship, which with Pompey's approval ten tribunes of the plebs had recently decreed to Cæsar in his absence, was now refused him. The senate insisted that he should come and sue for it according to ancient usage. Cæsar, however, demanded what had been decreed him, and asserted that unless they kept their word, he would not part with his army. A decree of the senate accordingly declared him a public enemy.

Rome, p. 187 f.; *Ancient History*, p. 370.

Civil war, 49–45 B.C.

Provoked by these doings, Cæsar resolved to secure by war the rewards of military success. The first scene of action in the civil war was Italy, whose strongholds Pompey had occupied with light garrisons. . . . The war would have been finished without bloodshed, could Cæsar have surprised Pompey at Brundisium. This he would have done, had not Pompey escaped by night from the besieged harbor. Dishonorable to relate! he who had recently been at the head of the senate, the arbiter of peace and war, fled across the sea, over which he had once triumphed. This voyage he made in a single vessel, which in crossing was shattered and almost wrecked. No sooner was Pompey driven from Italy than the senate was forced from the city, which Cæsar then entered. . . . But as Fortune now called together the pair of combatants, who were destined to contend for the empire of the world, Pompey fixed on Epirus for the seat of war, and Cæsar was not slow in meeting him.

The battle of Pharsalus, 48 B.C.

When everything was ready on both sides, they waited some time in profound silence, hesitating, looking steadfastly at each other, each expecting the other to begin the battle. They were stricken with sorrow for the great host, for never

Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 77.

before had such large Roman armies confronted the same danger together. . . . Reason purged the mad passion for glory, estimated the peril, and exposed the cause of the war, showing how two men, contending with each other for supremacy, had put themselves in a position where the one who should be vanquished could no longer hold even the humblest place, and how so great a number of the nobility incurred the same risk on their account.

Pompey gave the signal first and Cæsar reëchoed. Straightway the trumpets, of which there were many among so great a host, aroused the soldiers with their inspiring blasts, and the standard-bearers and officers put themselves in motion and encouraged their men. . . . Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 78.

The crisis of the fight.

Now as they came nearer together, they first shot arrows and threw stones. Then the opposing cavalry forces, who were a little in advance of the infantry, charged each other. Those of Pompey prevailed and began to flank the tenth legion. Cæsar then gave the signal to the cohorts in ambush, and they, starting up suddenly, advanced to meet the cavalry; with spears elevated they aimed at the faces of the riders. These knights could not endure the enemy's savagery or the blows on their mouths and eyes, but fled in disorder. Thereupon Cæsar's men, who had just now been afraid of being surrounded, fell upon the flank of Pompey's infantry, which was denuded of its cavalry support.

Cæsar wins

The tenth legion under Cæsar himself surrounded Pompey's left wing, — now deprived of cavalry, — and assailed it with javelins in flank; but it stood immovable till finally the assailants threw it into disorder, routed it, and made a beginning of victory. In the rest of the field killing and wounding of all kinds were going on, but no cry came from the scene of carnage, no lamentation from the wounded or the dying, only sighs and groans from those who were honorably falling. Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 79.

The rest of Pompey's legions, seeing the disaster of the

"Stand without fear."

Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 80.

left wing, retired slowly at first, in good order, and still resisted as well as they could. But when, flushed with victory, the enemy pressed upon them, they turned in flight. That they might not rally, and that this might be the end of the whole war and not of one battle merely, Cæsar prudently sent heralds everywhere among the ranks to order the victors to spare their own countrymen and to smite only the auxiliaries. The heralds drew near the retreating enemy and told them to stand still without fear. As this proclamation was passed from man to man, they halted, and the phrase "*stand without fear*," began to be passed as a sort of watchword among Pompey's soldiers; for being Italians, they were clad in the same style as Cæsar's men and spoke the same language. Passing by them, accordingly, Cæsar's men fell upon the auxiliaries, who were unable to resist, and made great slaughter among them.

Pompey flees.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 81.

When Pompey saw his men retreating, he became dazed and retired slowly to his camp, and on reaching his tent, he sat down speechless. . . . So they fell upon the camp and assaulted it with the utmost disdain for the defenders. When Pompey learned of this attack, he started up from his strange silence, exclaiming, "What! in our very camp?" After saying this, he changed his clothing, mounted a horse, and fled with a few friends, and did not draw rein till he reached Larissa early the next morning. So Cæsar established himself in Pompey's camp as he had promised to do when he was preparing for the battle, and ate Pompey's supper, and the whole army feasted at Pompey's expense.

The end of Pompey.

Plutarch, *Cæsar*, 48.

(Pompey fled to Egypt, where he was killed by the advisers of the Egyptian king.) Arriving in Alexandria after the death of Pompey, Cæsar turned away from Theodotus, who brought him his enemy's head, but he received Pompey's seal ring and wept over it. All the companions and intimate friends of Pompey, who were rambling about the country and had been taken by the king, Cæsar treated

well and gained over to himself. He wrote to his friends in Rome that the chief and sweetest pleasure which he derived from his victory was to be able to pardon any of those citizens who had fought against him. 47 B.C.

Honors to Cæsar.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 106.

After ending the civil wars Cæsar hastened to Rome, honored and feared as no one had ever been before. All kinds of honors were devised for his gratification without stint, even such as were more than human, — sacrifices, games, statues in all the temples and public places, by every tribe, by all the provinces, and by the kings in alliance with Rome. His portrait was painted in various forms, and in some cases crowned with oak as that of the saviour of his country. . . . He was proclaimed the Father of his Country and chosen dictator for life, and his person was declared sacred and inviolable. It was decreed that he should transact business on a throne of ivory and gold; that he should always perform his sacerdotal functions in triumphal dress; that each year the city should celebrate the days on which he had won his victories; that every five years the priests and Vestal virgins should offer up public prayers for his safety; and that the magistrates immediately after their inauguration should take an oath not to oppose any of Cæsar's decrees. In honor of his *gens* the name of the month Quintilis was changed to July. Many temples were decreed to him as to a god, and one was dedicated in common to him and the goddess Clemency, who were represented as clasping hands.

Cf. p. 198.

His clemency.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 107.

Thus while they feared his power they besought his mercy. Some proposed to give him the title of king, but when he learned of their purpose he forbade it with threats, for he said it was an inauspicious name by reason of the curse of their ancestors. He dismissed the pretorian cohorts which had served as his body-guard during the wars, and he showed himself with the ordinary public attendants only. . . .

(Pretorian cohorts, companies of soldiers who guarded the *prætorium*, or general's tent.)

He received all the honors conferred upon him excepting the ten-year consulship. As consuls for the ensuing year he

designated himself and Antony, his master of horse, and he appointed Lepidus master of horse in place of Antony. Lepidus at this time was governor of Spain, but was administering his province through friends. Cæsar recalled all exiles excepting those who had been banished for some grave offence. He pardoned his enemies, and many of those who had fought against him he forthwith advanced to the yearly magistracies or to the command of provinces and of armies. The wearied people therefore especially hoped he would restore the republic to them, as Sulla did after he had grasped the same power. But in this respect they were disappointed.

The conspiracy.

While the talk about the kingship was going on, and just before a session of the senate, Cassius met Brutus, and seizing him by the hand, said, "What shall we do in the senate-house if Cæsar's flatterers propose a decree to make him king?" "I shall not be there," Brutus replied. Then Cassius asked him further, "What if we are summoned there as prætors, what shall we do then, my good Brutus?" "I will defend my country to the death," he answered. Cassius embraced him, saying, "Which of the nobility will you allow to share your thoughts?". . . Thus did they disclose to each other what they had been privately thinking about for a long time. Each of them tested those of their own and of Cæsar's friends whom they considered the most courageous of either faction.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 113.

(They were prætors as well as senators, and their service as magistrates might be needed at the meeting.)

Ib. 114.

When they thought they had a sufficient number, and that it would not be wise to divulge the plot to any more, they pledged each other without oaths or sacrifices, yet no one changed his mind or betrayed the secret. They sought a time and place. Time was pressing because Cæsar was to depart on his campaign four days hence and would then have a body-guard of soldiers. They chose the senate as the place, believing that though all the senators did not know of it beforehand, they would join heartily when they saw the deed.

The conspirators kill Cæsar, 44 B.C.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 117.

The conspirators had left Trebonius, one of their number, to engage Antony in conversation at the door. The others with concealed daggers stood like friends around Cæsar as he sat in his chair. Then one of them, Tillius Cimber, came up in front of him and petitioned him for the recall of his brother, who had been banished. When Cæsar answered that the matter must be deferred, Cimber seized hold of his purple robe as though still urging the petition, and pulled it away so as to expose his neck; at the same time he exclaimed, "Friends, what are you waiting for?" Then Casca, who was standing over Cæsar's head, first drove a dagger at his throat, but missed the aim and wounded him in the breast. Cæsar snatched his toga from Cimber, seized Casca's hand, sprang from his chair, turned round and hurled Casca with great violence. While Cæsar was in this position, another one stabbed him with a dagger in the side . . . Cassius wounded him in the face, Brutus smote him in the thigh, and Bucolianus between the shoulder-blades.

With rage and outcries Cæsar turned now upon one and now upon another like a wild animal, but after receiving the wound from Brutus he despaired, and veiling himself with his robe, he fell prostrate at the foot of Pompey's statue. After he had fallen they continued their attack till he received twenty-three wounds.

The funeral

Plutarch, *Cæsar*, 68.

When the will of Cæsar was opened, and the people learned that he had given a handsome present to every Roman, and they saw the body as it was carried through the Forum, disfigured with wounds, the multitude no longer kept within the bounds of propriety and order, but taking from the Forum benches, lattices, and tables, they heaped them about the corpse, and set fire to the pile and burned the body on the spot. Then seizing the flaming pieces of wood, they ran to the houses of the conspirators to fire them, and others hurried about the city in all directions in search of the murderers to seize and tear them to pieces.

He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and was ranked

His spirit.

among the gods, not only by a formal decree but also in the belief of the people. For during the first games which Augustus, his heir, consecrated to his memory, a comet blazed seven days together, rising always about eleven o'clock; and the people thought it was the soul of Cæsar now received into heaven.

Suetonius, *Julius Cæsar*, 88.

That mighty superhuman spirit, which had accompanied him through life, followed him even in death; the avenger of his murder, it ran through every land and sea, to hunt and track down his assassins till not one of them was left — it pursued even those who in any way whatever had put their hand to the deed or had shared in the plot.

Plutarch, *Cæsar*, 69.

STUDIES

1. Write a biography of Gaius Julius Cæsar including a description of his character. What admirable qualities had he as a young man? How does his treatment of the pirates illustrate his character? how his conduct as consul? What is Plutarch's estimate of him as a general?

2. Describe Gaul. What were the leading states (or tribes) of the country? Whom did Cæsar favor, and with what result?

3. Describe the druids, their customs, and beliefs.

4. What was the condition of the common people in Gaul? of the family (cf. ch. i)?

5. From the material given by Cæsar in this chapter and by Tacitus (*Rome*, pp. 294–296) write a paper on the Manners, Customs, and Institutions of the Germans. Compare the Germans (1) with the Gauls (cf. ch. i), (2) with the early Italians (*Rome*, pp. 2–4; *Ancient History*, p. 255 f.).

6. Describe the animals of the Hercynian Forest. Is Cæsar's description perfectly accurate?

7. Explain the origin of the First Triumvirate. How did Cæsar and Pompey become rivals? Compare these two men in character and ability.

8. Give an account of the battle of Pharsalus and of the death of Pompey.

9. What honors did Cæsar receive? How does the manner in which the Romans treated him illustrate their character? Did his assassination benefit either Rome or the cause for which the conspirators stood? If so, in what way?

CHAPTER VIII (*concluded*)

The Revolution — (2) Pompey, Cæsar, and Octavius

(79–27 B.C.)

OCTAVIUS

(Octavius, afterward named) Augustus, was born in the consulship of Marcus Tullius Cicero and Gaius Antonius, a little before sunrise on the ninth of the calends of October, on Oxhead Street, Palatine Hill, in the place where now stands a chapel built a little after his death and dedicated to him. **His birth.** Suetonius, *Augustus*, 5. (Augustus is a title given Octavius by the senate.)

To this day his nursery may be seen in a villa belonging to the family, in the suburbs of Velitræ. It is a very small room, much like a pantry. Into this place no person dares intrude unless necessary, and then one enters with great devotion, for a belief has long prevailed that those who rashly intrude are seized with great horror and fear. This belief has recently been confirmed by a remarkable incident. A new inhabitant of the house took up his lodging in that apartment, either by chance or to try the truth of the report. In the course of the night, however, a few hours after retiring, he was thrown out by some sudden violence, he knew not what, and was found stupefied, lying in his coverlet in front of the chamber door. *Ib.* 6.

When only four years old, Octavius lost his father; and in his twelfth year he pronounced a funeral oration in praise of his grandmother Julia. Four years later, when Octavius put on the dress of manhood, Cæsar in his triumph **His early life.** Suetonius, *Augustus*, 8.

over Africa honored him with several military rewards, though on account of his youth he had taken no part in the war.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, iii. 9.

Octavius was the son of the daughter of Cæsar's sister. He was appointed master of Cæsar's horse for one year, for Cæsar at times made this a yearly office, passing it round among his friends. While still a young man, he was sent by Cæsar to Apollonia on the Adriatic coast to be educated and trained in the art of war, that he might accompany Cæsar on his expeditions. . . .

At the end of a six months' sojourn in Apollonia, he received news one evening that Cæsar had been killed in the senate-house by those who were dearest to the dictator, and who were at the time the most powerful persons under him.

The heir of Cæsar, 44 B.C.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, iii. 11.

(As the adopted son of Cæsar, Octavius received the name Gaius Julius Cæsar Octavianus.)

When more accurate information about the murder and the public grief had reached him, together with copies of Cæsar's will and the decrees of the senate, his relatives still cautioned him, as the adopted son and heir, to beware of Cæsar's enemies. They even advised him to renounce the adoption together with the inheritance. To do this, however, and not to avenge Cæsar, Octavius thought would be disgraceful. So he went to Brundisium, first sending in advance to see that none of the murderers had laid any trap for him. When the army advanced to meet him there and received him as Cæsar's son, he took courage, offered sacrifice, and immediately assumed the name of Cæsar.

Octavianus at Rome.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, iii. 12.

Suetonius, *Augustus*, 10.

Encouraged by the number of persons who were joining him, and by the glory of Cæsar, and by the good will of all toward himself, he journeyed to Rome with a notable crowd, which like a torrent grew larger and larger every day.

Immediately after his return from Apollonia, he formed the plan of taking forcible and unexpected measures against Brutus and Cassius; but they, foreseeing the danger, made their escape. Thereupon he resolved to proceed against them in their absence by an appeal to the laws, and to im-

peach them for the murder. . . . And that he might carry into effect his other plans with greater authority, he declared himself a candidate for the vacant place of a tribune of the people who happened to die at that time. This he did although he was of a patrician family, and had not yet been in the senate. But the consul Mark Antony, from whom he had expected the greatest assistance, opposed him in his suit, and even refused to do him so much as common justice, unless given a large bribe.

He gathers an army.

Presently news came to Octavius, through his secret agents, that the army at Brundisium and the colonized soldiers were incensed against Antony for neglecting to avenge the murder of Cæsar, and that they would assist Octavius to do so if they could. For this reason Antony set out for Brundisium. As Octavius feared lest Antony might return with the army and find him unprotected, he went to Campania with money to enlist the veterans whom his adoptive father had colonized in the towns of that region.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, iii. 40.

He first brought over Calatia and next Casilinum, two towns situated on either side of Capua; to each man he gave five hundred drachmas. He collected about ten thousand men, who were not fully armed and not mustered in regular cohorts, but who served merely as a body-guard under one banner. . . . The senate now commissioned him with the rank of prætor to command the troops he had gathered, and in connection with Hirtius and Pansa, who had accepted the consulship, to carry aid to Decimus Brutus. In a three months' campaign and in two battles he put an end to the war. Antony writes that in the earlier of these two fights he ran away, and two days afterward made his appearance without his general's cloak or horse. In the second battle, however, it is certain that he performed the part not only of a general, but of a soldier; for in the heat of the battle, when the standard-bearer of his legion was severely wounded, he took the eagle upon his shoulders, and carried it a long time.

Suetonius, *Augustus*, 10.

Rome, p. 196.

Pansa's revelation.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, iii. 75.

Meantime Pansa was dying of his wound. Summoning Octavius to his side, he said:

"I loved your father as I did myself, yet I could not avenge his death, nor could I fail to unite with the senators, whom you have also done well to obey, although you have an army.

"At first they feared you and Antony, and especially the latter, as he seemed to be the one most ambitious to fill the rôle of Cæsar; and they were delighted with your dissensions, for they thought you would naturally destroy each other.

"When they saw you the master of an army, they complimented you, as a young man, with specious and inexpensive honors. But when they discovered that you were prouder and more self-restrained in respect to honors than they had supposed, and especially when you declined the magistracy that your army offered you, they were alarmed, and they appointed you to the command with us in order that we might draw your two experienced legions away from you; for they hoped that when one of you was vanquished, the other would be weakened and isolated, and so the whole of Cæsar's party would be effaced and that of Pompey restored to power. This is their chief aim.

Why the secret is told.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, iii. 76.

"Hirtius and I did what we were ordered to do, until we could humble Antony, who was much too arrogant; but we intended when he was vanquished to bring him into alliance with you and thus to pay the debt of gratitude we owed to Cæsar's friendship, — the only payment that could be serviceable to Cæsar's party hereafter. It was not possible to communicate this to you before, but now that Antony is vanquished and Hirtius dead, and I am about to pay the debt of nature, the time for speaking is come, not that you may be grateful to me after my death, but that you, born to a happy destiny, as your deeds proclaim, may know what is for your own interest, and know that the course taken by Hirtius and me was a matter of necessity.

"The army which you yourself gave us should most properly be given back to you and I do give it. If you can take and hold the new levies, I will give those also. If they are too much in awe of the senate — for their officers were sent to act as spies upon us — and if the task would be an invidious one, and would create troubles for you prematurely, the quæstor Torquatus will take command of them." **Disposition of the legions.**

After speaking thus, he transferred the new levies to the quæstor, and expired. The quæstor transferred them to Decimus as the senate had ordered. Octavius sent the bodies of Hirtius and Pansa with honors to Rome, where they received a public funeral.

When Antony even alone was a hindrance to the public quiet and a trouble to the state, Lepidus joined with him was as one fire to another. What could Octavius then do against two armies? He was obliged to join in a most cruel league with their leaders. The views of all three were different. The desire of wealth, of which there was a fair prospect from a disturbance of the state, animated Lepidus; the hope of taking vengeance on those who had declared him an enemy instigated Antony; the death of his father unavenged, while Cassius and Brutus lived, offensive to his *manes*, actuated Octavius. **The Second Triumvirate, 43-27 B.C.** *Rome*, p. 370. Florus iv. 6.

With a view to a confederacy for these objects, the three generals made peace with one another. . . . Following an evil precedent, they formed a triumvirate; and after subduing the state by force of arms, they revived the proscriptions which Sulla had introduced. Their fury reached no fewer than a hundred and forty senators. Even many who had fled to various parts of the world were put to death in a way so shocking, so cruel, and so mournful, that no one can sufficiently lament the brutality.

Antony proscribed Lucius Cæsar, his own uncle; Lepidus proscribed Lucius Paulus, his own brother. It was now a common practice to expose the heads of the slain on the **The proscriptions.**

rostra at Rome; nevertheless the city could not refrain from tears when the head of Cicero, severed from the body, was seen on the very rostra he had made his own. . . . These atrocities proceeded from the lists of Antony and Lepidus. Octavius was content with proscribing the assassins of his father; their deaths, had they been fewer, might have been thought just.

Brutus and Cassius.
Florus iv. 7.

To escape the eye of public grief, Brutus and Cassius withdrew into Syria and Macedonia, — the very provinces assigned to them by Cæsar whom they had slain. In this way they delayed rather than smothered vengeance for Cæsar.

After the triumvirs had regulated the government rather as they could than as they should, they left Lepidus to guard the city, while Octavius and Antony prepared for war against Cassius and Brutus. Having collected vast forces, these two senatorial leaders had taken post on the same ground that had been so fatal to Gnæus Pompey.

The battle of Philippi, 42 B.C.
Appian, *Civil Wars*, iv. 112.

As the camp was in a strong position, a few men only guarded it; for this reason Antony easily overcame them. The soldiers of Cassius outside the camp were already worsted, and when they saw that the camp was taken, they scattered in disorderly flight. As Cassius was driven from his fortifications and no longer had a camp to go to, he ascended the hill to Philippi and took a survey of the situation. On account of the dust he could not see accurately nor could he see everything; but discovering that his own camp was captured, he ordered Pindarus, his shield-bearer, to draw his sword and kill him. While Pindarus delayed, a messenger ran up and said that Brutus had won on the other wing and was ravaging the enemy's camp. Cassius merely said, "Tell him I pray his victory may be complete." Then turning to Pindarus, he said, "What are you waiting for? Why do you not deliver me from my shame?" Then as he presented his throat, Pindarus killed him.

(Some time before the battles at Philippi) Brutus was

lying by night in his tent, as was his custom, not asleep, but thinking about the future; for it is said that of all generals he was least given to sleep, and had naturally the power of keeping awake longer than any other person. Thinking that he heard a noise near the door, he looked toward the light of the lamp, which was already sinking down, and saw a frightful vision of a man of unusual size and savage countenance. At first he was startled; but observing that the figure neither moved nor spoke, but was standing silent by the bed, he asked, "Who are you?" The phantom replied, "Thy evil spirit, Brutus; and thou shalt see me at Philippi." Thereupon Brutus boldly replied, "I shall see"; and the spirit disappeared. . . . As he was preparing to fight the second battle, the phantom appeared again by night, without speaking to him; but Brutus, perceiving his fate, threw himself headlong into the midst of danger. He did not fall in battle, however, but when the rout began, he fled to a steep place, where he threw himself on his bare sword, a friend gave strength to the blow, and he died.

Brutus sees the Ghost of Cæsar.

Plutarch, *Cæsar*, 69.

After the death of Cassius and Brutus, Octavius returned to Italy. Antony proceeded to Asia, where he met Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. . . .

Antony and Cleopatra.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, v. 1.

After his expedition against the Parthians, he was disgusted with war and lived at ease. In this period he fell in love with Cleopatra, and as if his affairs were quite prosperous, he enjoyed himself in the queen's company.

Florus iv. 11.

The Egyptian woman demanded of the drunken general, as the price of her love, nothing less than the Roman empire. This gift Antony promised her, as though the Romans were easier to conquer than the Parthians. He therefore aspired to the sovereignty, not secretly, but forgetting his country, his name, toga, and fasces, and degenerating wholly in thought, feeling, and dress, into a monster. In his hand was a golden sceptre, and a simitar by his side. His robe was of purple clasped with enormous jewels; and he wore a diadem that he might dally with the queen as a king.

(Or scimitar, an Oriental sword.)

The battle off Actium, 31 B.C.

At the first report of these proceedings, Cæsar (Octavianus) had crossed the sea from Brundisium to meet the approaching war. . . . We had more than four hundred vessels, the enemy about two hundred, but the size of the enemy's ships made up for their inferiority in number. With from six to nine banks of oars, mounted with towers and high decks, they moved along like castles and cities; the seas groaned under them and the wind was fatigued.

Their great size, however, was their destruction. Cæsar's vessels had from three to six banks of oars but no more. Ready for all that necessity required, whether for charging, retreating, or wheeling round, they attacked several of those heavy vessels at a time. In these encounters Cæsar's men hurled missiles and rammed with the beaks of their ships; they threw fire-brands into the enemy's vessels and dispersed them at pleasure. The greatness of the enemy's force was shown by nothing so much as by what happened after the victory. Shattered in the engagement, the vast fleet spread the spoils of Arabs, Sabæans, and a thousand other Asiatic nations over the whole face of the deep. The waves, driven onward by the winds, continually threw up purple and gold on the shore.

The queen began the flight; she made off into the open sea with her gilded vessel and sails of purple. Antony immediately followed.

The end of Antony and Cleopatra.

But Cæsar pursued hard on their track. . . . First Antony raised his sword against himself. The queen, falling at Cæsar's feet, tempted his eyes in vain, for her charms were too weak to overcome the prince's self-restraint. Her suit was not for life, which he offered her, but for a portion of the kingdom. As she despaired of obtaining this from Cæsar, and saw that she was reserved for his triumph, she took advantage of the negligence of her guard, and withdrew into a mausoleum, as the sepulchre of a king is called. There after putting on her best apparel . . . she placed herself by her dear Antony in a coffin filled with rich perfumes,

and applying serpents to her veins, she died a death like sleep.

POETRY OF THE AGE

Tell my Sister

"I wish I had died in battle."

Propertius i. 21.

Soldier, that fliest from thy comrade's fall,
Though weak and wounded 'neath Perusia's wall;
Heed not my dying groan, nor weep for me,
For I am but a soldier like to thee.
But to my sister the sad tale deplore —
So mayst thou glad thy parent's heart once more —
How Gallus 'scaped from Cæsar's armed bands,
To fall unhonored here by felon's hands.
If o'er the Tuscan wold she haply see
Some scattered bones, 'tis all she'll find of me.

(Perusia, Etruria, was besieged by Cæsar Octavianus, 41–40 B.C.)

The Origin of Belief in the Gods

"Why build altars and temples?"

Lucretius, *On the Nature of the World*, 5.

And now what cause has spread over great nations the worship of the divinities of the gods, and filled towns with altars, and led to the performance of stated rites, — rites now in fashion on solemn occasions and in solemn places, from which even now is implanted in mortals a shuddering awe which raises new temples of the gods over the whole earth, and prompts men to crowd them on festive days, all this is not so difficult to explain in words.

"Our religion rests (1) on dreams,

In sooth the races of mortal men would see in waking mind glorious forms, would see them in sleep of yet more marvellous size of body. To these forms they would attribute sense, because they seemed to move their limbs and to utter lofty words suitable to their glorious aspect and surpassing powers. And men would attribute to them life everlasting, because their face would ever appear and their form abide; yes, and yet without all this reasoning, because men would not believe that beings possessed of such powers could lightly be overcome by any force. They would believe such beings to be preëminent in bliss, because none of them was ever troubled with fear of death, and because at the same

time in sleep persons would see them perform many miracles, without feeling fatigue from the effort.

(2) on observing the activities of nature."

Again men would see the system of heaven and the different seasons of the year come round in regular succession, and could not find out by what causes this was done; therefore they would seek a refuge in handing over all things to the gods, and in supposing all things to be guided by their nod. And they placed in heaven the abodes and realms of the gods, because night and moon are seen to roll through heaven, — moon, day, and night, and night's austere constellations, and night-wandering meteors of the sky, and flying bodies of flame, clouds, sun, rains, snow, winds, lightnings, hail, and rapid rumblings, and loud threatful thunderclaps.

"Why do we worship?"

O hapless race of men, when they charged the gods with such acts and coupled with them bitter wrath! what groanings did they then beget for themselves, what wounds for us, what tears for their children's children! No act is it of piety to be often seen, with veiled head, to look to a stone and approach every altar and fall prostrate on the ground and spread out the palms before the statues of the gods and sprinkle the altars with much blood of beasts and link vow on vow, but rather to be able to view all things with mind at peace.

"Doubts that trouble us."

For when we turn our gaze on the heavenly quarters of the great upper world and ether, fast above the glittering stars, and direct our thoughts to the courses of the sun and moon, then into our breasts burdened with other ills, that fear as well begins to exalt its reawakened head, the fear that we may haply find the power of the gods to be unlimited, able to wheel the bright stars in their unvaried motion; for lack of power to solve the question troubles the mind with doubts, whether there was ever a birth-time of the world, and whether likewise there is to be any end; how far the walls of the world can endure this strain of restless motion; or whether gifted by the grace of the gods with an everlasting

existence, they may glide on through a never-ending tract of time and defy the strong powers of immeasurable ages.

Religious fear.

Again who is there whose mind does not shrink into itself with fear of the gods, whose limbs do not cower with terror, when the parched earth rocks with the appalling thunderstroke and rattlings run through the great heaven? Do not peoples and nations quake, and proud monarchs shrink into themselves, smitten with fear of the gods, lest for any foul transgression or overweening word the heavy time of reckoning has arrived at its fulness? When too the utmost fury of the headstrong wind passes over the sea, and sweeps over its waters does not the commander of the fleet, together with his mighty legions and elephants, draw near with vows, to seek the mercy of the gods and ask in prayer with fear and trembling a lull in the winds, and propitious gales? But all in vain, for often caught up in the furious hurricane, he is borne none the less to the shoals of death; so constantly does some hidden power trample on human grandeur, and is seen to tread under its heel, and make sport for itself, the renowned rods and cruel axes.

Again when the whole earth rocks under their feet, and towns tumble with the shock, or doubtfully threaten to fall, what wonder that mortal men abase themselves and make over to the gods, in things here on earth, high prerogatives and marvellous powers, sufficient to govern all things?

Mankind's First Music

An imitation of nature.

Imitating with the mouth the clear notes of birds was in use, and gave pleasure to the ear, long before men were able to sing in tune smooth-running verses. And the whistlings of the zephyr through the hollow reeds first taught peasants to blow into hollow stalks. Then step by step they learned sweet plaintive ditties, which the pipe pours forth when pressed by the fingers of the players — heard through pathless woods and forests and lawns, through the unfre-

quented haunts of shepherds and abodes of unearthly calm. These things would soothe and gratify their minds when they were sated with food; for then all things of this kind are welcome.

Often therefore stretched in groups on the soft grass beside a stream of water, under the boughs of a high tree, they at no great cost would pleasantly refresh their bodies, — above all when the weather smiled and the seasons of the year painted the green grass with flowers. Then went round the jest, the tale, the peals of merry laughter; for the peasant muse was then in its glory; then frolic mirth would prompt to entwine head and shoulders with garlands plaited with flowers and leaves, and to advance in the dance out of step, and move the limbs clumsily and with clumsy foot beat mother earth; this would cause smiles and peals of merry laughter, because all these things then, from their greater novelty, were in high repute.

The Man with White Teeth

"Don't smile to show your teeth."

Catullus, 39. (A funeral pile.)

Because Egnatius' teeth are nicely white,
To grin and show them is his sole delight.
If haply at some trial he appear,
Where eloquence commands the gushing tear,
He grins. — If, at a pile, the duteous son,
The childless mother weeps, for ever gone,
He grins. — In short, whate'er the time or place,
Do as he may, the grin still marks his face:
'Tis his disease; and speaking as I feel,
I cannot call it decent or genteel.

To My Farm

"Is my farm at Tibur or in Sabina?"

Catullus, 44.

(Complaining of Sextius' Trashy Oration)

Whether, my farm, the Sabine bounds
Or Tibur hold thy peaceful grounds;
— For those who love me like a friend
Call thee of Tibur; those who come
To vex my pride, with any sum
That thou art Sabine will contend. —

But whether that, or truly classed
'Mong Tibur's lands, well pleased I've passed
Some days in thy sequestered seat.
Thou from my loaded breast hast driven
A cough my stomach's sins had given,
Deserved by many a costly treat.

And when I plainly hoped to feed
As Sextius' guest, my host would read
His speech 'gainst Attius, made of old.
'Twas full of poison and disease;
It made me shiver, made me sneeze,
And gave me a bad cough and cold.

"His speech gave me a cold."

At length I fled into thy breast;
And there with medicine and rest
Have cured myself in little time:
So now in health and spirits gay,
My warmest thanks to thee I pay,
Who thus hast done away my crime.

And when I e'er again shall go
To hear his works, may they bestow
Their cough and cold, not on my head,
But upon Sextius' self, who ne'er
Asks me to sup, but when the fare
Is hearing his own nonsense read!

STUDIES

1. Give an account of the early life of Octavius. How did Cæsar regard him?

2. After Cæsar's death, how did Octavius (now Cæsar Octavianus) win an influential place at Rome? What traits of character does his conduct show?

3. What are the chief facts said to have been divulged to him by Pansa? How did this revelation influence his policy?

4. Explain the origin and policy of the Second Triumvirate. Were the new proscriptions wise? Was the connection of Cæsar Octavianus with these proceedings blameless?

5. Why did Cassius commit suicide? Did Brutus really see a ghost, or was the trouble in his own mind? Is there any sign that he was

sorry for having helped kill Cæsar? Were the suicides of Cassius and Brutus beneficial to Rome?

6. Describe the battle of Actium. What resulted from the victory of Cæsar Octavianus?

7. How did the leading Romans of the last period of the republic differ from those who lived in the time of the Punic Wars?

8. Explain the poem, "Tell my Sister." Who was the author (cf. ch. i)?

9. Who was Lucretius (cf. ch. i)? What in his opinion was the origin of the religion of his countrymen? Does he consider their religion good or bad? What doubts troubled his countrymen? What caused religious fear? What in his opinion was the first music of mankind?

10. Who was Catullus (cf. ch. i)? What was wrong about the smile of Egnatius? Why did the poet prefer Tibur to the Sabine country? What quality of his friend's oration gave the poet a cold? How did he recover from it?

CHAPTER IX

The Julian Emperors

AUGUSTUS

Ode to Augustus

How shall the Fathers, how
Shall the Quiritians, O Augustus, now,
  Intent their honors in no niggard wise
Upon thee to amass,
By storied scroll, or monumental brass
  Thy virtues eternise?

Horace, *Odes*, iv. 14.

(Quiritians, Quirites, p. 38.)

O thou who art, wherever shines the sun
On lands where man a dwelling-place hath won,
  Of princes greatest far,
Thee the Vindelici, who ever spurned
Our Latin rule, of late have learned
  To know supreme in war!

(Vindelici, a tribe on the Danube, conquered by Drusus and Tiberius.)

For 'twas with soldiers thou hadst formed,
  That Drusus, greatly resolute,
On many a hard-worn field o'erthrew the wild
  Genaunians, and the Breuni fleet of foot,
And all their towering strongholds stormed,
On Alps tremendous piled.

(Genaunians and Breuni, tribes of Rætia, a country north of Italy.)

Anon to deadliest fight
  The elder Nero pressed,
  And by auspicious omens blessed,
Scattered the giant Rætian hordes in flight,
  Himself that glorious day,
  The foremost in the fray.

(Tiberius Claudius Nero, afterward emperor.)

(Auster, the south wind. "Pleiad choir," a constellation.)

With havoc dire did he
O'erwhelm that banded crowd
Of hearts in stern devotion vowed
To die or to be free!
Like Auster lashing into ire
The tameless ocean waves, when through
The driving rack the Pleiad choir
Flash suddenly in view,
So furiously he dashed
Upon his serried foes,
And where the balefires thickest rose,
With foaming war-steed crashed.

(Aufidus, a river of Apulia. Daunus, mythical king of Apulia.)

As bull-shaped Aufidus, who laves
Apulian Daunus' realm,
Is whirled along, when o'er his banks
He eddies and he raves,
Designing to o'erwhelm
The cultured fields with deluge and dismay,
So Claudius swept the iron ranks
Of the barbarian host,
And where from van to rear he clove his way,
Along his track the mangled foemen lay,
Nor did one squadron lost
The lustre dim of that victorious fray.

(Alexandria surrendered, 30 B.C. A *lustrum*, "lustre," is five years.)

But thine the legions were, and thine
The counsels, and the auspices divine,
For on the self-same day
That suppliant Alexandria had flung
Her port and empty palace wide to thee,
Did fortune, who since then through lustres three
Had to thy banners smiling clung,
Bring our long wars to a triumphant close,
And for thee proudly claim
The honor long desired, the glorious fame
Of countless vanquished foes,
And vanquished empires bowed in homage to thy sway!

(Cantabrians, a fierce Spanish tribe.)

Thee the Cantabrian unsubdued till now,
The Mede, the Indian, — thee
The Scythian roaming free,

Unwedded to a home,
With wondering awe obey,
O mighty Cæsar, thou
Of Italy and sovereign Rome
The present shield, the guardian, and the stay!
Thee Nile, who hides from mortal eyes
The springs where he doth rise,
Thee Ister, arrowy Tigris thee,
Thee, too, the monster-spawning sea,
Which round far Britain's islands breaks in foam,
Thee Gallia, whom no form of death alarms,
Iberia thee, through all her swarms
Of rugged warriors hears;
Thee the Sicambrian, who
Delights in carnage, too,
Now laying down his arms,
Submissively reveres!

(Ister, the Danube.)

(Sicambrians, a German tribe.)

Augustus emperor, 27 B.C.–14 A.D.

Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 2.

After the destruction of Brutus and Cassius there was no longer an army of the republic; (the younger) Pompey was crushed in Sicily, Lepidus was pushed aside, Antony was killed, and even the Julian party had Cæsar (Octavianus) only to lead it. Then dropping the title of Triumvir, and announcing that he was a consul, and was satisfied with the tribunician authority for the protection of the people, Augustus won over the soldiers with gifts, the populace with cheap corn, and all men with the sweets of repose, and so grew greater by degrees, while he concentrated in himself the functions of the senate, the magistrates, and the laws.

No opposition.

No one opposed him; for the boldest spirits had fallen in battle or in the proscription. As to the surviving nobles, the readier they were to be slaves, the higher they were raised by wealth and promotion in office; so that, aggrandised by revolution, they preferred the safety of the present to the dangerous past. And the provinces did not dislike the condition of affairs, for they distrusted the government of the senate and people, because of the rivalries among the leading men and the rapacity of the officials; the protection,

too, of the laws was unavailing, as they were continually deranged by violence, intrigue, and corruption.

His achievements.

(Augustus himself tells us of his most notable deeds.)

His triumphs.

Augustus, *Deeds*, 4. (An inscription.)

On account of enterprises which I, or my lieutenants under my auspices, brought to a successful issue by land and sea, the senate fifty-five times decreed a thanksgiving to the immortal gods. The number of days, moreover, on which thanksgiving was rendered in accordance with the decree of the senate was eight hundred and ninety. In my triumph nine kings or children of kings have been led before my chariot. When I wrote these words I had been thirteen times consul, and was in the thirty-seventh year of the tribunician power.

His censorship.

Augustus, *Deeds*, 8. (Tiberius Cæsar, afterward emperor. For lustration, see p. 128.)

In my fifth consulship, by order of the people and the senate, I increased the number of the patricians. Three times I have revised the list of the senators. . . . Assuming the consular power a third time in the consulship of Sextus Pompey and Sextus Apuleius, with Tiberius Cæsar as colleague, I performed the lustration. At this lustration the number of Roman citizens was four millions nine hundred and thirty-seven thousand. By new legislation I have restored many customs of our ancestors which had begun to fall into disuse, and have also committed to posterity many examples worthy of imitation.

Gaius and Lucius Cæsar.

Augustus, *Deeds*, 14.

My sons, the Cæsars Gaius and Lucius, whom fortune snatched from me in their youth, the senate and people, in order to do me honor, designated as consuls in the fifteenth year of each, intending that they should enter upon that magistracy after five years. And the senate decreed that from the day on which they were introduced into the Forum they should share in the public counsels. Moreover the whole body of the Roman knights gave them the title "princes of the youth," and presented to each a silver buckler and spear.

Colonies.

For the lands which in my fourth consulship, and afterward in the consulship of Marcus Crassus and Gnæus Lentu

lus, the augur, I assigned to soldiers, I paid money to the municipia. The sum which I paid for Italian farms was about six hundred million sesterces, and that for lands in the provinces was about two hundred and sixty millions. Of all those who have established colonies of soldiers in Italy or in the provinces I am the first and only one within the memory of my age to pay money for land.

Augustus, *Deeds*, 16. (Sesterce, a silver coin worth about five cents.)

Four times I aided the public treasury from my own means, giving one hundred and fifty million sesterces. And in the consulship of Marcus Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius I paid into the military treasury which was established by my advice, — that from it gratuities might be given soldiers who had served a term of twenty or more years, — one hundred and seventy million sesterces from my own estate.

The treasury.

Augustus, *Deeds*, 17.

In my sixth and seventh consulships, when I had put an end to the civil wars, after having obtained complete control of affairs by universal consent, I transferred the commonwealth from my own dominion to the authority of the senate and Roman people. In return for this favor on my part, I received by decree of the senate the title Augustus; the door-posts of my house were publicly decked with laurels, a civic crown was fixed above my door, and in the Julian curia was placed a golden shield, which by its inscriptions bore witness that it was given me by the senate and the Roman people on account of my valor, clemency, justice, and piety. After that time I excelled all others in dignity, but of power I held no more than those also held who were my colleagues in any magistracy.

The republic restored(?)

Augustus, *Deeds*, 34.

(Julian senate-house.)

(In his public works Augustus showed the true Roman spirit.) The Greek cities are thought to have flourished mainly on account of the happy choice made by their founders, the beauty or strength of their sites, their nearness to some port, and the excellence of the country. But Roman prudence was more particularly employed on matters which had received but little attention from the Greeks, such as paving their roads, building aqueducts, and sewers

Public works.

Strabo v. 3. 8

to convey the sewage of the city into the Tiber. In fact they have paved the roads, cut through hills, and filled up valleys, that merchandise may be conveyed by wagon from the ports. The sewers, arched over with hewn stones, are large enough in some parts for wagons loaded with hay to pass through; while so plentiful is the supply of water from the aqueducts that rivers may be said to flow through the city and the sewers, and almost every house is furnished with water-pipes and copious fountains. This water-supply is largely the work of Marcus Agrippa. Many ornaments, too, he bestowed on the city.

The Campus Martius.

It may be well to say that the ancients, occupied with greater and more pressing affairs, paid little attention to beautifying Rome. But their successors, and especially those of our day, without neglecting necessary matters, have at the same time embellished the city with many splendid objects. Pompey, divine Cæsar, and Augustus, with his children, friends, wife, and sister, have zealously surpassed all others in the munificence of these decorations. The greater number of improvements may be seen in the Campus Martius, which to the beauties of nature adds those of art. The remarkable size of the plain permits chariot-races and other feats of horsemanship without hindrance, and allows multitudes to exercise themselves at ball, in the circus, and in the palestra. The buildings which surround it, the turf covered with herbage all the year round, the hilltops beyond the Tiber, extending from its banks like a panorama, present a view which the eye abandons with regret.

Funeral monuments.

(It is in fact the northern part of the same plain.)

Near this plain is another surrounded with columns, sacred groves, three theatres, an amphitheatre, and superb temples close to one another. So magnificent is the place that it would seem idle to describe the rest of the city after it. For this reason the Romans, esteeming it the most sacred place, have there erected funeral monuments to the most illustrious persons of both sexes. The most remarkable of these monuments is the Mausoleum, which consists

of a mound of earth raised on a high foundation of white marble, situated near the river and covered to the top with evergreen shrubs. On the summit is a bronze statue of Cæsar Augustus, and beneath the mound are the ashes of himself, his relatives, and friends. Behind is a large grove with charming promenades. In the centre of the plain is the spot where the body of this prince was reduced to ashes; it is surrounded with a double enclosure, one of marble, the other of iron; and the interior is planted with poplars. If from there you proceed to visit the ancient Forum, which is equally filled with basilicas, porticos, and temples, you will there behold the Capitol, the Palatine Hill, with the noble works which adorn them, and the piazza of Livia, — each succeeding place causing you speedily to forget what you have before seen. Such is Rome.

The Forum.

In person Augustus was handsome and graceful throughout every period of his life. But he was negligent in his dress; and so careless about his hair that he usually had it trimmed in great haste by several barbers at a time. His beard he sometimes clipped and sometimes shaved, and either read or wrote during the operation. His countenance either when he was talking or silent was calm and serene. To illustrate this quality a story is told that once when Augustus was crossing the Alps, a Gaul of the first rank came near him under the pretext of conferring with him, but in reality with the intention of throwing him down the precipice. The barbarian, however, was so softened by the face of Augustus that he dared not do the deed.

His person.

Suetonius, *Augustus*, 79.

The eyes of Augustus were bright and piercing; and he was willing to have people think there was divine vigor in them. His teeth were thin set, small and scaly, his hair a little curly, and inclined to a yellow color. His eyebrows met; his ears were small and he had an aquiline nose. His complexion was between brown and fair; his stature was low, though Julius Marathus, his freedman, says he was five feet nine inches in height.

His heirs.

Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 3.

Meanwhile as supports to his despotism he raised to the office of pontiff and to the curule ædileship Claudius Marcellus, his sister's son, while a mere stripling, and he gave two consecutive consulships to Marcus Agrippa, of humble birth but a good soldier, and one who had shared his victory. Marcellus soon afterward died. (In his memory Vergil inserted in the *Æneid* some beautiful lines, representing Æneas conversing with Anchises about the spirit of Marcellus in the realm of Hades.)

Marcellus.

(The "hero" here mentioned is the famous Marcellus of the Second Punic War; *Rome*, p. 112; *Ancient History*, p. 326.)

Vergil, *Æneid*, vi. 860–886.

(What lamentations of mourners shall the Campus Martius — the burial place — send forth to Rome, the mighty city of Mars!)

Æneas . . . noticed
Walking a youth, superb in his figure and glittering armor;
But his brow was uncheered, and his eyes were dejected in aspect.
"Who, my father, is he who attends on the hero in going?
Is he his son, or some one of his noble line of descendants?
What an array of attendants about him! what majesty in him!
But dark night flits round his head with sorrowful shadows."
Then did his father Anchises proceed, while the tears were up-welling:
"O my begotten, inquire not the exquisite grief of thy kindred:
Him shall the fates just show to the world, and no longer permit him
Here to remain; too mighty to you had the Roman succession
Seemed, ye Supernals, if gifts so peculiar had lasted forever.
What lamentations of heroes shall yon plain post to the mighty
City of Mavors! Or, Tiber, what pageants of mourning shalt thou, too,
Witness ere long, as thou close by the new made sepulchre glidest!
No such a youth from the Ilian nation shall ever his Latin
Ancestors lift to so heightened a hope, nor shall ever hereafter
Romulus' land boast over another so cherished a darling!
Ah! for thy piety! Ah! for the pristine faith, and the right hand
Dauntless in war! with impunity none could have dared to attack him,
Meeting him when he was armed or with infantry charging on foemen,
Or when digging his spurs in the flanks of his leathery warhorse.
Ah! lamentable boy! if ever thou burstest thy hard fate,
Thou shalt become a MARCELLUS! bring lilies in plentiful handfuls;
I will the flowers purpureal strew, and the soul of mine offspring
Load with the presents at least, and will render if only an empty
Service!"

Other heirs.

Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 3.

After the death of Marcellus, Augustus accepted Agrippa as his son-in-law. Tiberius Nero and Claudius Drusus, his stepsons, he honored with imperial titles, although his own

family was as yet undiminished. For he had admitted the children of Agrippa, Gaius and Lucius, into the house of the Cæsars. (After they and Drusus had died,) Nero remained alone of the stepsons, and in him everything tended to centre. Augustus adopted him as a son, as a colleague in the empire, and partner in the tribunician power. . . .

In the vigor of life Augustus could maintain his own position, that of his house, and quiet everywhere. When in advanced old age he was worn out by a sickly frame, and the end was near, and new prospects opened, a few spoke in vain of the blessings of freedom, but most people dreaded and some longed for war. Tacitus, *Annals*, 4.

He died in the same room as his father Octavius . . . on the fourteenth of the calends of September, at the ninth hour of the day. He was seventy-six years of age lacking thirty-five days. . . . Two funeral orations were pronounced in his praise. Senators then carried the body on their shoulders into the Campus Martius, and there burned it. A man of pretorian rank affirmed on oath that he saw the spirit of Augustus ascend from the funeral pile into heaven. The most distinguished persons of the knightly order, barefoot and with loosened tunics, gathered up his ashes and deposited them in the mausoleum, which in his sixth consulship he had built between the Flaminian Way and the bank of the Tiber; at the same time he gave the groves and walks about the tomb to the people. **His death,** 14 A.D. Suetonius, *Augustus*, 100.

Tiberius

The next emperor was Tiberius Claudius Nero, stepson of Augustus. **Tiberius Claudius Nero Cæsar, Emperor,** 14–37 A.D.

The patrician family of the Claudii . . . came originally from Regilli, a Sabine town. Thence the Claudii removed with a great body of their dependants to Rome soon after the building of the city. They made this journey under Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 1.

Titus Tatius, who thereupon became joint ruler with Romulus; or more probably, as is related on better authority, they came under the lead of Atta Claudius, the head of the family, whom the senate admitted to the patrician order six years after the expulsion of the Tarquins. To the Claudian family Tiberius Cæsar belonged by both the father's and the mother's side. . . . He belonged also to the family of the Livii by the adoption of his mother's grandfather into it.

Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 3.

His infancy.

He passed his infancy and childhood in the midst of danger and trouble; for he accompanied his parents everywhere in their flight, and twice at Naples nearly betrayed them by his crying, when they were secretly hastening to a ship, for the enemy were just then rushing into the town. . . . Carried through Sicily and Achæa, he was for a time placed in charge of the Lacedæmonians, who were under the protection of the Claudian family. As his mother Livia with her child was travelling from Sparta in the night, they narrowly escaped death by a fire, which suddenly burst from a wood on all sides and surrounded the whole party so closely that part of Livia's dress and hair was burned.

Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 6.

Character.

Tiberius Claudius Nero was three years old when Livia, daughter of Claudianus Drusus, became the wife of Cæsar (Octavianus), for she had been contracted to him by Nero, her former husband. Tiberius, a youth trained in the noblest principles, possessed in the highest degree birth, beauty, dignity, valuable knowledge, and superior capacity. From the beginning he gave hopes of becoming the great man he now is, and by his appearance he announced himself a prince. Made quæstor in his nineteenth year, he began to act in a public character; and under the direction of his stepfather he took such judicious measures, both in Rome and at Ostia, to remedy the excessive price of provisions and the scarcity of corn that, from what he did on this occasion, it could plainly be seen how great he was to become.

Velleius ii. 94.

His marriages.
Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 7.

He married Agrippina (Vipsania), the daughter of Marcus Agrippa and granddaughter of Cæcilius Atticus, a Roman knight, — the person to whom Cicero has addressed so many letters. After the birth of his son Drusus, Tiberius was obliged to part with her, though she retained his affections, . . . to make way for marrying Julia, daughter of Augustus. This step he took with extreme reluctance; for besides having the warmest attachment to Agrippina, he was disgusted with the conduct of Julia. . . . The divorcing of Agrippina gave him the deepest regret; and on meeting her afterward he looked at her with eyes so passionately expressive of affection that care was taken that she should never again come in his sight.

(By this marriage Tiberius became the heir of Augustus.)

He retires to Rhodes.
Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 10.

Surrounded by all prosperity, in the prime of life and in excellent health, he suddenly resolved to withdraw far from Rome. It is uncertain whether this was the result of disgust for his wife, whom he dared neither accuse nor divorce, and the connection with whom became every day more intolerable. . . . Some are of the opinion that as the sons of Augustus were now growing up to maturity, Tiberius willingly relinquished the second place in the government, which he had long enjoyed.

Ib. 11.

Afterward he received news that his wife Julia had been condemned for her bad conduct, and that Augustus in his name had sent her a bill of divorce. Though he secretly rejoiced at this news, he thought it right in point of decency to interpose in her behalf by frequent letters to Augustus, and to allow her to retain the presents he had made her, notwithstanding the little regard she merited from him.

Augustus adopts him.
Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 15.

But as Gaius and Lucius both died in the space of three years, Augustus adopted Tiberius along with Agrippa, brother of the deceased, and obliged Tiberius to adopt Germanicus, his brother's son.

Death of Augustus, 14 A.D.

Not long afterward a law was carried by the consuls for the appointment of Tiberius as colleague of Augustus in the administration of the provinces, and in taking the census;

Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 21.

and when the latter work was finished, Tiberius went into Illyricum. Hastily recalled from his journey, he found Augustus alive indeed but past all hopes of recovery, and was with him privately a whole day. I know it is generally believed that when Tiberius quit the room after this private conference, those in waiting overheard Augustus say, "Ah! unhappy Roman people, to be ground by the jaws of so slow a devourer!"

Nor am I ignorant of the report that Augustus so openly and undisguisedly condemned the sourness of his temper that sometimes when Tiberius came in, the emperor would break off any jocular conversation in which he was engaged; and that he was prevailed upon only by the importunity of his wife to adopt Tiberius; or that he was actuated by the ambitious view of recommending his own memory by a comparison with such a successor.

Yet I must hold to this opinion, that a prince so extremely circumspect and prudent as Augustus did nothing rashly, especially in an affair of so great importance; but that, weighing the vices and virtues of Tiberius each against the other, he judged the latter to predominate. . . . For he swore in the assembly of the people, "I adopt him for the public good."

Tiberius is offered the imperial power.

Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 11.

After the funeral of Augustus all prayers were addressed to Tiberius. On his part, he urged various reasons (for declining the government) — especially the greatness of the empire and his distrust of himself. "Only the intellect of the divine Augustus," he said, "is equal to such a burden. Called as I have been by him to share his anxieties, I have learned by experience how exposed to fortune's caprices is the task of universal rule. Consequently a state which has the support of so many great men should not put everything on one alone; for many by uniting their efforts will more easily discharge public functions." There was more grand sentiment than good faith in such words. . . . The senators, however, whose only fear was lest they might seem to understand him, burst into complaints, tears, and prayers.

Wearied at last by the assembly's clamorous entreaties and by the urgent demands of individual senators, he gradually gave way, though he would not admit that he was undertaking the imperial rule, but yet ceased to refuse it. Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 13.

The emperor's mother.

Great, too, was the senate's flattery of (Livia) Augusta. Some would have her styled "parent," others "Mother of the Country," and a majority proposed that to the name of Cæsar should be added "son of Julia." The emperor repeatedly asserted that there should be a limit to the honors paid to women, and that he would preserve similar moderation in those bestowed on himself; but annoyed at the invidious proposal, and regarding a woman's elevation as a slight to himself, he would not allow so much as a lictor to be assigned her, and forbade the erection of an altar in memory of her adoption or any other distinction of the kind. Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 14. ("Julia," from her adoption into the Julian family.)

The assemblies abolished.

Then for the first time the election of magistrates was transferred from the Campus Martius to the senate. For up to that day, though the most important appointments rested with the emperor, some were still settled by the partialities of the tribes. And the people did not complain of having the right taken from them, except in mere idle talk. The senate, now released from the necessity of bribery and of degrading solicitations, gladly upheld the change. Tiberius confined himself to the recommendation of only four candidates who were to be nominated without rejection or canvass. Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 15.

The mutiny in Pannonia.

Such was the state of affairs at Rome when a mutiny broke out in the legions of Pannonia, — a disturbance which could be traced to no fresh cause except the change of emperors and the prospect it held out of licence in tumult and of profit from a civil war. . . . In the camp was a certain Percennius who had once been a leader of one of the theatrical factions, and had then become a common soldier. He had a saucy tongue, and had learned from his applause of actors how to stir up a crowd. Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 16.

Speech of Percennius.

Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 17.

At last when there were others ready to join the mutiny, he asked in the tone of a demagogue why, like slaves, they submitted to a few centurions and still fewer tribunes. "When will you dare demand relief," he asked, "if you do not go with your prayers or arms to a new and feeble throne? For many years we have blundered enough by our tameness in enduring thirty or forty campaigns till we grow old, most of us with bodies maimed by wounds. Even dismissal is not the end of our service, but quartered under a legion's standard, we continue to toil through the same hardships under another title. If a soldier survives so many risks, he is then dragged into remote regions, where under the name of lands he receives soaking swamps or mountain wastes.

P. 63.

"Assuredly military service is burdensome and unprofitable; ten asses a day is the value set on life and limb. Out of this amount clothing, arms, tents, as well as the mercy of centurions and exemptions from duty have to be purchased. But of floggings and wounds, of hard winters, wearisome summers, terrible war, and barren peace, there is no end. Our relief will come only if we enter military life under fixed conditions: each should receive a denarius, and our service should end with the sixteenth year. . . . Do the pretorian cohorts, which have just got their two denarii a man, and which after sixteen years are restored to their homes, encounter more dangers than we? We do not disparage the guards of the capital; but here amid barbarous tribes we have to face the enemy from our tents."

(At this time about twenty-one cents.)

Ib. i. 18.

The throng applauded from various motives, some pointing with indignation to the marks of the lash, others to their gray locks, and most of them to their threadbare garments and naked limbs.

The mutiny in Germany.

Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 31.

About the same time and from the same causes the legions of Germany rose in mutiny, with a fury proportioned to their greater numbers, in the confident hope that Germanicus Cæsar would not be able to endure another's

supremacy and would offer himself (as emperor) to the legions, whose strength would carry everything before them. . . . There was sedition in many a face and voice. "The Roman world," they said, "is in our hands; our victories increase the state; from us emperors receive their titles."

Their commander (Cæcina) did not check them. In fact the blind rage of so many had robbed him of his resolution. In a sudden frenzy they rushed with drawn swords on the centurions, the immemorial object of the soldiers' resentment and the first cause of savage fury. They threw these officers down and beat them sorely. . . . Then tearing them from the ground, mangled and some lifeless, they flung them outside the intrenchments or into the river Rhine. Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 32.

Hearing of the mutiny in the legions, Germanicus instantly went to the spot, and as he met the soldiers outside the camp, their eyes were fixed on the ground and they seemed repentant. As soon as he entered the intrenchments, confused murmurs arose. Some men, seizing his hand under pretence of kissing it, thrust his fingers into their mouths that he might touch their toothless gums; others showed him their limbs bowed with age. . . . Beginning with a reverent mention of Augustus, he passed on to the victories and triumphs of Tiberius, dwelling with especial praise on his glorious achievements with those legions in Germany. Next he extolled the unity of Italy, the loyalty of Gaul, the entire absence of turbulence or strife. He was heard in silence or with but a slight murmur. **Speech of Germanicus.** Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 34.

(He calmed the sedition for a time, but it soon blazed out anew. Thereupon he resolved to send his wife Agrippina and their young son Gaius, — nicknamed Caligula by the soldiers, — away from the camp to a place of safety.) At first his wife spurned the notion, protesting that she was a descendant of the divine Augustus and could face peril with no degenerate spirit; but finally he embraced her and the son of their love with many tears, and after a long delay **Agrippina prepares to depart.** Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 40.

compelled her to depart. Then slowly moved along a pitiable procession of women, a general's fugitive wife with a little son in her bosom, and her friends' wives weeping round her, as they were dragging themselves with her from the camp. Not less sorrowful were those who remained.

The soldiers' honor.

Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 41.

There was no appearance of the triumphant general in Germanicus; he seemed to be in a conquered city rather than in his own camp; groans and wailings attracted the ears and looks even of the soldiers. Coming out of their tents, they asked:

"What is this mournful sound? What means the sad sight? Here are ladies of rank, not a centurion to escort them, not a soldier, no sign of a prince's wife, none of the usual retinue. Can they be going to the Treveri, to subjects of the foreigner?"

(Treveri, now Trèves, a city of Gaul in alliance with Rome.)

Then they felt shame and pity, and remembered her father Agrippa, her grandfather Augustus, her father-in-law Drusus, her own glory as the mother of children, her noble purity. And there was her little child, too, born in the camp, brought up amid the tents of the legions, — the boy whom they used to call in soldiers' fashion Caligula, because he often wore the boot so called, to win the men's good will.

But nothing moved them so much as jealousy toward the Treveri. They stopped the way, and entreated that Agrippina might return and remain; some ran to meet her while others went back to Germanicus. (Thus through the influence of Agrippina the mutiny which had threatened the existence of the empire subsided. About the same time the Pannonian mutiny was quelled by Drusus, son of the emperor.

Death of Germanicus.

Some time afterward Germanicus died in the East; and as he was very popular, the Romans loudly lamented his death. Thinking their grief excessive, Tiberius mildly rebuked them in the following address: "Many eminent Romans have died for their country, but none have been honored with such passionate regret. This grief is a glory to myself and to all, provided only a due mean is observed; for what

Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 6.

is becoming in humble homes and communities does not befit princely persons and an imperial people. Tears and the solace found in mourning are suitable enough for the first burst of grief; but now you must brace up your hearts to endurance, as in former days the divine Julius after the loss of his only daughter, and the divine Augustus when he was bereft of his grandchildren, thrust away their sorrow. There is no need of examples from the past to show how often the Roman people have patiently endured the defeats of armies, the destruction of generals, the total extinction of noble families. Princes are mortal; the state is everlasting. Return then to your usual pursuits and even to your amusements."

A public misfortune.

Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 47.

Twelve famous cities of Asia fell by an earthquake one night, so that the destruction was all the more unforeseen and fearful. And there was no means of escape usual in such a disaster, by rushing out into the open country; for in the case before us the yawning earth swallowed the people up. Vast mountains collapsed; what had been level ground seemed to be raised aloft, and fires blazed out amid the ruin. The misfortune fell most fatally on the inhabitants of Sardis, and attracted to them the largest share of sympathy. The emperor promised ten million sesterces, and remitted for five years all their dues to the treasury or to the emperor's purse. It was determined that the people of these cities . . . should be exempt from tribute for that length of time, and some one was to be sent to examine their actual condition and to relieve them.

Egyptian and Jewish religion.

Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 36.

Tiberius suppressed all foreign religions, including the Egyptian and Jewish rites; those who practised these superstitions he compelled to burn their vestments and all their sacred utensils. Under pretence of military service he distributed the Jewish youths among the provinces noted for their unhealthful climate; and he dismissed from the city all the rest of that nation as well as proselytes to that faith, under pain of slavery for life unless they obeyed.

Excessive luxury.

Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 52.

Luxury had reached boundless excess in everything on which wealth is lavished. . . . Costly preparations for gluttony and dissipation were the theme of incessant talk, and had suggested a fear that a prince who clung to old-fashioned frugality would be too stern in his reforms. In fact when the ædile Gaius Bibulus broached the topic, all his colleagues pointed out that the sumptuary laws were disregarded, that prohibited prices for household articles were every day on the increase, and that moderate measures could not stop the evil.

Referred to the emperor.

The senate, on being consulted, did not discuss the matter but referred it to the emperor. After long considering whether such reckless tastes could be repressed, whether the repression of them would not be still more hurtful to the state, and how undignified it would be to meddle with what he could not succeed in, or what if affected would necessitate the disgrace and infamy of distinguished men, Tiberius at last addressed a letter to the senate to the following purport:

His letter to the senate.

Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 53.

"Perhaps in any other matter, senators, it would be more convenient that I should be consulted in your presence, and then state what I think to be for the public good. In this debate it was better that my eyes should not be on you, for while you were noting the anxious faces of individual senators charged with shameful luxury, I too might observe them and, as it were, detect them. Had those energetic men, our ædiles, first taken counsel with me, I do not know whether I should not have advised them to let alone vices so strong and so matured, rather than merely attain the result of publishing what are the corruptions with which we cannot cope. They have certainly done their duty, however, as I could wish all other officials likewise to fulfil their parts.

"Where am I to begin?"

"For myself, it is neither seemly to keep silent nor is it easy to speak my mind, as I do not hold the office of ædile, prætor, or consul. Something greater and loftier is expected

of a prince, and while everybody takes to himself the credit of a right policy, one alone has to bear the odium of every person's failures. For what am I first to begin with restraining and cutting down to the old standard? The vast dimensions of country houses? The number of slaves of every nationality? The masses of silver and gold? The marvels of bronze and painting? The apparel worn by both sexes? Or jewels — that peculiar luxury of women which diverts our wealth to strange or hostile nations?

Sumptuary laws not enforced.

Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 54.

"I am not unaware that people at entertainments and social gatherings condemn all this and demand some restriction. But if a law were to be passed and a penalty imposed, those same persons will cry out that the state is revolutionized, that ruin is plotted against all our most brilliant fashion, that not a citizen is safe from accusation. . . . Of the many laws devised by our ancestors, of the many passed by the divine Augustus, the first have been forgotten, while his — all the more to our disgrace — have become obsolete through contempt, and this result has made luxury bolder than ever. . .

"There are greater dangers."

"Why then in old times was economy in the ascendant? Because every one practised self-control; because we were all members of one city. Not even afterward had we the same temptations, while our dominion was confined to Italy. Victories over the foreigner taught us how to waste the substance of others; victories over ourselves taught us how to squander our own. What a paltry matter is this of which the ædiles are reminding us! What a mere trifle if you look at everything else! No one represents to the senate that Italy requires supplies from abroad, and that the very existence of the people of Rome is daily at the mercy of uncertain waves and storms. And unless masters, slaves, and estates have the resources of the provinces as their mainstay, our shrubberies forsooth, and our country houses will have to support us.

"Such, senators, are the anxieties which the prince has to

The prince's burdens.

sustain, and the neglect of them will be utter ruin to the state. The cure of other evils must be sought in our own hearts. Let us be led to amendment, the poor by constraint, the rich by satiety. Or if any of our officials give promise of such energy and strictness as can stem the corruption, I praise them, and admit that I am relieved of a portion of my burdens. But if they wish to denounce vice, and when they have gained credit for so doing, they arouse resentments and leave them to me, be assured, senators, that I too am by no means eager to incur enmities; and though for the public good I encounter formidable and often unjust enmities, yet I have a right to decline such as are unmeaning and purposeless and will be of use neither to you nor to myself."

Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 55.

When they had heard the emperor's letter, the ædiles were excused from so anxious a task.

Death and character of Livia Julia Augusta.

Tacitus, *Annals*, v. 1.

(Perusian War, the siege of L. Antonius, brother of the triumvir, by Octavianus, 41–40 B.C., in Perusia, now Perugia.)

(Livia) Julia Augusta died at an advanced age. A Claudia by birth, and by adoption a Livia and a Julia, she united the noblest blood of Rome. The first marriage by which she had children was with Tiberius Nero, who was an exile during the Perusian War, but returned to Rome when peace had been concluded between Sextus Pompey and the triumvirs. (Their sons were Tiberius, who became emperor, and Drusus.) Afterward Cæsar (Octavianus), captivated by her beauty, took her away from her husband. . . . She had no more children, but allied as she was through the marriage of Agrippina and Germanicus to the blood of Augustus, her great-grandchildren were also his.

(Without good reason Tacitus considers Tiberius hypocritical; cf. p. 12.)

In the purity of her home life she was of the ancient type, but more gracious than was thought fitting in ladies of former days. An imperious mother and an amiable wife, she was a match for the diplomacy of her husband, and the dissimulation of her son (Tiberius). Her funeral was simple, and her will long remained unexecuted. Her great-grandson Gaius Cæsar (Caligula), who afterward succeeded to power, pronounced her funeral oration from the rostra.

Appearance of Tiberius.
Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 68.

In person Tiberius was large and robust, in stature somewhat above the average; he was broad in the shoulders and chest, and well-proportioned throughout his frame. He used his left hand more readily and with more force than the right; and his joints were so strong that he could bore a fresh apple through with his finger, and wound the head of a boy or a young man with a fillip. His complexion was fair, and he wore his hair so long behind that it covered his neck, — a noticeable mark of distinction affected by the family. He had a handsome face, which however was often pimpled. His large eyes had a wonderful faculty of seeing in the dark, for a short time only, immediately after waking from sleep; then they would soon grow dim.

Peculiar traits of character.

He walked with his neck stiff and upright, generally with a frowning countenance, and silent. When he spoke to those about him, it was very slowly, and usually accompanied with a slight gesticulation of the fingers. All these repulsive habits and signs of arrogance were noticed by Augustus, who often tried to excuse them to the senate, declaring that they were natural defects, which proceeded from no viciousness of mind.

His will.
Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 76.

About two years before his death he made duplicates of his will, one written by his own hand, the other by a freedman. . . . He appointed joint heirs to his estate his two grandsons, — Gaius, son of Germanicus, and Tiberius, son of Drusus. On the death of one of them, the other was to inherit the whole.

Gaius Cæsar Caligula

The family of Germanicus.
Suetonius, *Caligula*, 7.

Germanicus had married Agrippina, daughter of Marcus Agrippa and Julia. He had nine children. Two died in infancy and another a few years afterward, a sprightly boy, whose image, in the character of a cupid, Livia set up in the temple of Venus in the Capitol. Augustus placed another statue of him in his bed-chamber, and used to kiss it whenever he entered the apartment. The rest survived their

father. There were three daughters, Agrippina, Drusilla, and Livilla, who were born in three successive years, — and as many sons, — Nero, Drusus, and Gaius Cæsar. On the accusation of Tiberius, Nero and Drusus were declared public enemies.

Caligula's accession, 37 A.D.

Suetonius, *Caligula*, 13.

In receiving the imperial powers Caligula fulfilled the wish of the Roman people, and I may venture to say, of all mankind; for most of the provincials and soldiers, who had known him when a child, had long been looking forward to the event; so had all the people of Rome because of affection for the memory of Germanicus, his father, and compassion for the family now almost extinct.

Ib. 21.

(Sæpta, the enclosed voting-place in the Campus Martius.)

He completed the works left unfinished by Tiberius, — the temple of Augustus and the theatre of Pompey. He began, too, the aqueduct from the neighborhood of Tibur and an amphitheatre near the Sæpta. The former was completed by his successor Claudius, the latter remained as he left it.

He wishes to be a god.

Suetonius, *Caligula*, 22.

Thus far we have spoken of him as a prince. What remains to be said shows him to be a monster rather than a man. . . . He was strongly inclined to assume the diadem, and change the form of government from imperial to regal; but when told that he far exceeded the grandeur of kings and princes, he began to assume a divine majesty. He ordered all the images of the gods which were famous for their beauty or for the veneration paid them, including that of Jupiter Olympius, to be brought from Greece that he might take the heads off and put on his own. He extended his palace as far as the Forum, and converting the temple of Castor and Pollux into a kind of vestibule to his house, he often stationed himself between the twin brothers, and so presented himself to be worshipped by all who came in.

He longs for misfortune.

Suetonius, *Caligula*, 31.

Often he complained aloud of the condition of the times, because it was not made remarkable by any public calamity; whereas the reign of Augustus had become memorable to posterity through the disaster of Varus, and that of Tiberius

by the fall of the theatre of Fidenæ, *his* was likely to pass into oblivion from an uninterrupted prosperity. And at times he wished for some terrible slaughter of his troops, a famine, a pestilence, a conflagration, or an earthquake. *Rome*, p. 208; *Ancient History*, p. 382.

At last, seized with an invincible desire to feel money, he took off his slippers and repeatedly walked over great heaps of gold coin spread upon the spacious floor, and then laying himself down, rolled his whole body in gold over and over. *Ib.* 42.

His appearance.

He was tall, pale, and ill-shaped; his neck and legs were very slender, his eyes and temples hollow, his brows broad and knit, his hair thin, and the crown of the head bald. . . . His face, naturally hideous and frightful, he purposely rendered more so by drawing it, before a mirror, into the most horrible contortions. He was abnormal both in body and in mind; for as a boy he had been subject to epilepsy. Suetonius, *Caligula*, 50. A.D.

His assassination, 41. A.D.

In his frantic and savage career many had formed designs for killing him; but one or two conspiracies were discovered, and others postponed for want of opportunity. At last two men concerted a plan together, and accomplished their purpose. Suetonius, *Caligula*, 56.

He lived twenty-nine years, and reigned three years, ten months, and eight days. *Ib.* 59.

Country Life

Happy though poor.

Tibullus, i. 1.

The glittering ore let others vainly heap,
  O'er fertile vales extend the enclosing mound;
With dread of neighb'ring foes forsake their sleep,
  And start aghast at every trumpet's sound.

Me humbler scenes delight, and calmer days;
  A tranquil life, fair Poverty, secure!
Then boast, my hearth, a small but cheerful blaze,
  And riches grasp who will, let me be poor.

Nor yet be Hope a stranger to my door,
  But o'er my roof, bright goddess, still preside!
With many a bounteous autumn heap my floor,
  And swell my vats with must, — a purple tide.

My tender vines I'll plant with early care,
And choicest apples with a skilful hand;
Nor blush, a rustic, oft to guide the share,
Or goad the tardy ox along the land.

Let me, a simple swain, with honest pride,
If chance a lambkin from its dam should roam,
Or sportful kid, the little wanderer chide,
And in my bosom bear exulting home.

P. 37.

Here Pales I bedew with milky showers,
Lustrations yearly for my shepherd pay,
Revere each antique stone bedecked with flowers
That bounds the field or points the doubtful way.

My grateful fruits, the earliest of the year,
Before the rural god shall duly wait.
From Ceres' gifts I'll cull each browner ear,
And hang a wheaten wreath before her gate.

(Priapus, a garden god, made of a board and painted red, a scare-crow.)

The ruddy god shall save my fruit from stealth,
And far away each little plunderer scare:
And you, the guardians once of ampler wealth,
My household gods, shall still my off'rings share.

My num'rous herds that wantoned o'er the mead
The choicest fatling then could richly yield;
Now scarce I spare a little lamb to bleed
A mighty victim for my scanty field.

And yet a lamb shall bleed, while, ranged around,
The village youths shall stand in order meet,
With rustic hymns, ye gods, your praise resound,
And future crops and future wines entreat.

Then come, ye powers, nor scorn my frugal board,
Nor yet the gifts clean earthen bowls convey,
With these the first of men the gods adored,
And formed their simple shape of ductile clay.

My little flock, ye wolves, ye robbers, spare,
Too mean a plunder to deserve your toil;
For wealthier herds the nightly theft prepare;
There seek a nobler prey, and richer spoil.

For treasured wealth, nor stores of golden wheat, —
The hoard of frugal sires, — I vainly call;
A little farm be mine, a cottage neat,
And wonted couch where balmy sleep may fall.

Nature is more Lovely than Art

"Artificial beauty wins not love"

Why walk, my love, with locks bedecked with gold?
And rustle Coan robes with silken fold?
Ah, why with Syrian unguents drench thy hair,
Tricked out for sale with artificial ware?
Why scorn to please by nature's simple grace,
And seek th' allurements of a borrowed face?
From tricks like these thy charms no fairer prove,
For artificial beauty wins not love.

(Dresses of light, thin material from Cos, an island in the Ægean Sea.)

Propertius i. 2.

See with what natural hues the earth is drest —
Uncared, unmarked the ivy blossoms best;
Midst desert rocks the ilex clusters still,
Soft are the murmurs of the lonely rill,
Bright are the pebbly shores that gem the sea,
And sweet the wild bird's untaught melody.

* * * * * * *

Thine is the charm in winning words that lives,
Thine all the grace that wit and beauty gives:
These make me thine — thine ever will I be,
Couldst thou but learn to hate frivolity.

Winter

Only hark how the doorway goes straining and creaking,
And the piercing wind pipes through the trees that surround
The court of your villa, while black frost is streaking
With ice the crisp snow that lies thick on the ground!

Horace, *Odes*, iii. 10.

Enjoy the Spring

As biting winter flies, lo, Spring with sunny skies,
And balmy airs! and barks long dry put out again from shore;
Now the ox forsakes his byre, and the husbandman his fire,
And daisy-dappled meadows bloom where winter frosts lay hoar.
By Citherea led, while the moon hangs overhead,
The nymphs and graces, hand in hand, with alternating feet
Shake the ground, while swinking Vulcan strikes the sparkles fierce and red
From the forges of the Cyclops, with reiterated beat.

Horace, *Odes*, i. 4.

(Venus, of the island of Cythera.)

(Cyclopes, one-eyed giants, represented as smiths, or builders.)

'Tis time with myrtle green to bind our glistening locks,
Or with flowers, wherein the loosened earth herself hath newly dressed,
And to sacrifice to Faunus in some glade amidst the rocks
A yearly lamb, or else a kid, if such delight him best.
Death comes alike to all — to the monarch's lordly hall,
Or the hovel of the beggar, and his summons none shall stay.
O Sestius, happy Sestius! use the moments as they pass;
Far-reaching hopes are not for us, the creatures of a day.
Thee soon shall night enshroud; and the Manes' phantom crowd,
And the starvelling house unbeautiful of Pluto shut thee in;
And thou shalt not banish care by the ruddy wine-cup there,
Nor woo the gentle Lycidas, whom all are mad to win.

(Faunus, like the Greek Pan, was god of the forest, plain, and fields.)

(Manes, spirits of the dead; Pluto, king in the realm of the dead.)

My Friends and I

Horace, *Odes*, i. 4.

With storm and wrack the sky is black, and sleet and dashing rain
With all the gathered streams of heaven are deluging the plain;
Now roars the sea, the forests roar with the shrill north wind of Thrace,
Then let us snatch the hour, my friends, the hour that flies apace,
Whilst yet the bloom is on our cheeks, and rightfully we may
With song and jest and jollity keep wrinkled age at bay!
Bring forth a jar of lordly wine, whose years my own can mate,
Its ruby juices stained the vats in Torquatus' consulate!
No word of anything that's sad; whate'er may be amiss,
The gods belike will change to some vicissitude of bliss!

From the Sæcular Hymn

To Apollo and Diana

(Composed by Horace for the Sæcular games, with which Augustus, in 17 B.C., celebrated the opening of a new *Sæculum*, or age. In the plan of Augustus the sæculum was to consist of a hundred and ten years, but other emperors, as Claudius, insisted on

Ye powers divine,
Unto our docile youth give morals pure!
Ye powers divine,
To placid age give peace,
And to the stock of Romulus ensure
Dominion vast, a never-failing line,
And in all noble things still make them to increase!

And oh! may he who now
To you with milk-white steers uplifts his prayer,
Within whose veins doth flow
Renowned Anchises' blood, and Venus' ever fair,
Be still in war supreme, yet still the foe
His sword hath humbled spare!

Now, even now the Mede
Our hosts omnipotent by land and sea,
And Alban axes fears ; the Scythians, late
So vaunting, and the hordes of Ind await,
On low expectant knee,
What terms soe'er we may be minded to concede.
Now Faith, and Peace, and Honor, and the old
Primeval Shame, and Worth long held in scorn,
To reappear make bold,
And blissful Plenty, with her teeming horn,
Doth all her smiles unfold.

making it an even hundred years.)

(The axes were an emblem of Roman power. Horace calls them Alban after Alba Longa, the mother-city of Rome and the early home of the Julian gens, to which Augustus belonged by adoption.)

And oh! may he, the Seer Divine,
God of the fulgent bow,
Phœbus, belovèd of the Muses nine,
Who, for the body racked and worn with woe
By arts remedial finds an anodyne,
If he with no unloving eye doth view
The crested heights and halls of Palatine,
On to a lustre new
Prolong the weal of Rome, the blest estate
Of Latium, and on them, long ages through,
Still growing honors, still new joys accumulate!

And may She, too, who makes her haunt
On Aventine and Algidus alway,
May She, Diana, grant
The prayers, which duly here
The Fifteen Men upon this festal day
To her devoutly send,
And to the youth's pure adjurations lend
No unpropitious ear!

(The Fifteen Men who had charge of the Sibylline Books, which ordained this celebration. The number of men in this college was originally two, but was increased to ten by Licinius and Sextius, and still later to fifteen.)

Now homeward we repair,
Full of the blessèd hope, that will not fail,
That Jove and all the gods have heard our prayer,
And with approving smiles our homage hail, —
We, skilled in choral harmonies to raise
The hymn to Phœbus and Diana's praise.

STUDIES

1. What made the imperial government possible ?
2. How did Augustus (Cæsar Octavianus) celebrate his successes ?
3. Who were his heirs ? Who finally succeeded him ?

4. How did Augustus formally restore the republic? What was in fact the nature of the government from this time forward (*Rome*, p. 210; *Ancient History*, p. 383)?

5. Describe his personal appearance.

6. Give an account of the early life and character of Tiberius. What did Augustus think of him?

7. May not Tiberius have been sincere in at first declining the imperial powers? Was the position of emperor in every way desirable (cf. *Rome*, p. 219)? Was his mother helpful to him? Describe her character.

8. What advantages resulted from the abolition of the assemblies? Was there any reason for continuing them longer? Did they represent Italy or the empire?

9. What were the causes of the mutiny? Were the grievances of the soldiers real? Was their lot harder now than it had been under the republic (cf. *Rome*, p. 219)? What good quality did their treatment of Agrippina show? How was the mutiny ended?

10. What points did Tiberius make in his address to the people after the death of Germanicus? What features of his character does this speech show?

11. What public misfortunes did Tiberius relieve? Have you any proof that he was humane?

12. What did he think of sumptuary laws? Was this attitude wise? What is at present the general opinion of sumptuary legislation? What did Tiberius consider the chief burdens of the emperor?

13. Give an account of the reign of Caligula, and describe his character. Was he insane? What at this time must have been the character of the Romans who endured the rule of such an emperor?

14. Who was Horace (cf. ch. i)? Why might we call him the poet-laureate of the Augustan age? What was the event which he celebrates in the poem at the opening of ch. ix? Why did Augustus deserve the honor of the victories won by his stepson? In defining the empire of Augustus why does the poet mention those particular nations?

15. What lesson does Horace learn from spring? What does he think of the pleasures and the cares of life?

16. In the Sæcular Hymn what blessings does Horace ask the gods to give the Roman? What virtues, in his opinion, were then returning to Rome?

17. Who was Tibullus (cf. ch. i)? From his poem near the end of chapter ix what may we learn of country life?

18. Who was Propertius (cf. ch. i)? What was his ideal beauty?

CHAPTER X

The Claudian and the Flavian Emperors

(41–96 A.D.)

CLAUDIUS

Tiberius Claudius Drusus emperor, 41-54 A.D.

Suetonius, *Claudius*, 2.

(His elder brother was the emperor Tiberius.)

CLAUDIUS (the next emperor) was born at Lyons . . . the very day on which an altar was first dedicated there to Augustus. He was named Tiberius Claudius Drusus; but afterward, on the adoption of his elder brother into the Julian family, he added the surname Germanicus. The father left him an infant; and during almost the whole of his minority, and for some time after he had attained the age of manhood, he was afflicted with a variety of obstinate diseases, so that his mind and body were greatly impaired. Even after growing up, he was never thought sufficiently qualified for any public or private employment.

"A learned fool."

Suetonius, *Claudius*, 3.

From an early age, however, he applied himself with great diligence to the study of the liberal sciences, and frequently published specimens of his skill in each of them. But never with all his efforts could he attain to any public post in the government, or give any hope of arriving at distinction. His mother Antonia often called him "an imperfect man, whom nature had begun but had not finished." And when she wished to upbraid any one with dulness, she would say, "He is a greater fool than my son Claudius." . . . His sister Livilla, on hearing that he was about to be created emperor, openly and loudly expressed her indignation that the Roman people should experience a fate so severe and so much below their grandeur.

As a public man.

Suetonius, *Claudius*, 7.

When Gaius, his brother's son, had been raised to the imperial office, and was trying to gain the affections of the public by all the arts of popularity, Claudius at last was admitted to office, and held the consulship jointly with his nephew for two months.

Ib. 8.

Still he was subject to many slights. If he ever came in late to supper, he was obliged to walk round the room several times before he could get a place at the table. When he indulged himself in his common habit of sleeping at the end of meals, the company used to throw olive-stones and dates at him. . . . Sometimes they would put slippers on his hands as he lay snoring, that on awaking he might rub his face with them.

The pretorians make him emperor.

Suetonius, *Claudius*, 10.

After spending the greater part of his life in this way, he received the office of emperor in the fiftieth year of his age and by a surprising turn of fortune. . . . Terrified by the report that Gaius had been killed, he crept into a balcony, where he hid himself behind the hangings of the door. A common soldier, who happened to pass that way, spied his feet, and wishing to learn who he was, pulled him out. Immediately recognizing him, the soldier threw himself at the feet of Claudius, and saluted him emperor. He then conducted Claudius to the pretorian guards, who were all in great rage and irresolute as to what they should do. . . .

The day afterward, as the senate was slow in its proceedings, and was worn out by divisions among its members, while the people who surrounded the senate-house shouted that they would have one master, naming Claudius, he suffered the guards assembled under arms to swear allegiance to him, and promised them fifteen thousand sesterces a man. Thus Claudius was the first of the Cæsars to purchase the submission of the soldiers with money.

His censorship.

He assumed, too, the censorship, which had been discontinued since the time when Paulus and Plancus had jointly held it. This office he administered very irregularly and with a strange variety of humor and conduct. . . . He pub-

lished twenty proclamations in a day, in one of which he gave the people the following advice, — "As the vintage is very plentiful, have your casks well secured at the bung with pitch;" and in another he told them, "Nothing will sooner cure the bite of a viper than the sap of the yew-tree."

(Censorship of Paulus and Plancus, 22 B.C.)

Suetonius, *Claudius*, 16.

Narrowness of the Roman senators.

The question of filling up the senate was discussed, and the chief men of Gallia Comata, who had long possessed the rights of allies and of Roman citizens, sought the privilege of obtaining public offices at Rome. There was much talk of every kind on the subject, and vehement opposition showed itself in the argument before the emperor. "Italy," some said, "is not so feeble as to be unable to furnish her own capital with a senate. . . . What distinctions will be left for the remnants of our noble houses, or for any impoverished senators from Latium? Every place will be crowded with these millionnaires, whose ancestors of the second and third generations at the head of hostile tribes destroyed our armies with fire and sword, and actually besieged the divine Julius at Alesia. These are recent memories. What if there were to rise up the remembrance of those who fell in Rome's citadel and at her altar by the hands of these same barbarians! Let them enjoy the title of citizens, but let them not vulgarize the distinctions of the senate and the honors of office."

(Gallia Comata, or Celtica, one of the provinces of Transalpine Gaul.)

Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 23.

Statesmanlike views of the emperor.

These and like arguments failed to impress the emperor. He at once applied himself to answering them, and thus addressed the assembled senate: "My ancestors, the most ancient of whom was made at once a citizen and a noble of Rome, encourage me to govern by the same policy of transferring to this city all conspicuous merit, wherever found. . . .

Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 24.

(For his "most ancient" ancestor, see p. 241 f.)

"What was the ruin of Sparta and Athens but this fault, that mighty as they were in war, they spurned from them as aliens those whom they had conquered? Our founder Romulus, on the other hand, was so wise that on one and the same day he fought as enemies and hailed as fellow-citizens several nations. Strangers have reigned over us. That

freedmen's sons should be intrusted with public offices is not, as many people think, a sudden innovation; it was a common practice of the early republic. . . .

The Gauls are worthy of the honor.

(Cæsar's conquest, 58–50 B.C.)

"On the whole, if you review all our wars, never has one been finished in a shorter time than that with the Gauls. Thenceforth they have preserved an unbroken and loyal peace. United with us as they now are by manners, education, and intermarriage, let them bring us their gold and their wealth rather than enjoy it in isolation. Everything, senators, which we now hold to be of the highest antiquity was once new. Plebeian magistrates came after patrician; Latin magistrates after plebeian; magistrates of other Italian peoples after Latin. This practice, too, will establish itself, and what we are this day justifying by precedents will be itself a precedent."

Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 25.

P. 203.

The emperor's speech was followed by a decree of the senate, and the Ædui were the first to obtain the right of becoming senators at Rome.

Saint Peter.

Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 14.

In the reign of Claudius, by the benign and gracious providence of God, Peter, that great and powerful apostle, who by his courage took the lead of all the rest, was conducted to Rome. . . . Like a noble commander of God, fortified with divine armor, he bore the precious merchandise of the revealed light from the East to those in the West, announcing the light itself, and the salutary doctrine of the soul — the proclamation of the kingdom of God.

Personal appearance of Claudius.

Suetonius, *Claudius*, 30.

Either standing or sitting, but especially when he lay asleep, Claudius had a majestic and graceful appearance; for he was tall, but not slender. His gray locks became him well, and he had a full neck. But his knees were feeble and failed him in walking, so that his gait was ungainly on state occasions as well as when he was taking exercise. Boisterous in his laughter, he was still more so in his wrath. . . . He stammered, too, in his speech, and had a tremulous motion of the head at all times, but especially when he was engaged in any business, however trifling.

Toward the close of his life he gave clear indications of repentance for his marriage with Agrippina and his adoption of (her son) Nero.

Suetonius, *Claudius*, 45.

He died on the third of the ides of October . . . in the sixty-fourth year of his age and the fourteenth of his reign.

Death.

Suetonius, *Claudius*, 45.

Nero

Nero was seventeen years of age at the death of Claudius, and as soon as that event became public, he showed himself to the guards between the hours of six and seven; for the omens were so unfavorable that no earlier time of the day was deemed proper. On the steps before the palace gate the soldiers unanimously saluted him emperor, and then carried him in a litter to the camp. Thence after he had made a short speech to the troops, they brought him into the senate-house, where he remained till evening. Of all the immense honors which were heaped upon him he refused none but the title Father of his Country, and this on account of his youth.

Nero Claudius Cæsar emperor, 54–68 A.D.

Suetonius, *Nero*, 8.

Afranius Burrus and Annæus Seneca guided the emperor's youth with a unity of purpose seldom found where authority is shared; and though their accomplishments were wholly different, they had equal influence. Burrus with his soldier's discipline and severe manners, Seneca with lessons of eloquence and a dignified courtesy, strove alike to confine the frailty of the prince's youth — so far as he disliked virtue — within allowable indulgences.

His advisers.

Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 2.

In sketching the plan of his future government, Nero carefully avoided everything which had recently kindled hatred. "I will not be judge in all cases," he said, "nor will I by confining the accuser and the accused within the same walls, allow the power of a few favorites to grow dangerously great. In my house nothing shall be venal, nothing open to intrigue; my private establishment and the state shall be kept entirely distinct. The senate shall retain its ancient powers. Italy

His address to the senate.

Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 4.

and the state-provinces shall plead their causes before the tribunals of the consuls, who will give them a hearing from the senators. Of the armies I will myself take charge, as especially intrusted to me."

His accomplishments in music.

Suetonius, *Nero*, 20.

Among the liberal arts which he was taught in his youth was music; and immediately after his advancement to the imperial office, he sent for Turpnus, a harpist of the highest reputation, who flourished at the time. After sitting with him several days as he sang and played after dinner till late at night, Nero began gradually to practice on the instrument himself. . . . He made his first public appearance at Naples; and although the theatre quivered with the sudden shock of an earthquake, he did not desist until he had finished the piece of music he had begun. . . .

At the same time he chose young men of the equestrian rank and above five thousand robust young fellows of the common people, to learn various kinds of applause . . . which they were to practise in his honor whenever he performed.

The "Golden House."

Suetonius, *Nero*, 31.

In nothing was he so prodigal as in his buildings. He completed his palace by extending it from the Palatine to the Esquiline Hill. At first he called this addition simply the Passage; but after it was burned down and rebuilt, he named it the Golden House. Of the dimensions and furniture it may suffice to give the following description. The porch was so high that there stood in it a colossal statue of Nero a hundred and twenty feet in height; and the space included in it was so ample that it had triple porticos a mile in length, and a lake like a sea, surrounded with buildings which had the appearance of a city. Within its area were corn-fields, vineyards, pastures, and woods, which contained a great number of animals of various kinds both tame and wild. In other parts the palace was entirely overlaid with gold and adorned with jewels and mother of pearl. The dining rooms were vaulted, and compartments of the ceilings, inlaid with ivory, were made to revolve and

scatter flowers; they contained pipes, too, which shed unguents upon the guests. . . . When he dedicated this magnificent building after finishing it, all he said in approval was, "Now I have a dwelling fit for a man."

A cruel law.

Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 42.

Soon afterward the city prefect was murdered by one of his own slaves, either because the slave had been refused his freedom, for which he had made a bargain, or in jealousy of love in which he could not brook his master's rivalry. Ancient custom required that the whole slave establishment which had dwelt under the same roof should be dragged to execution. But a sudden gathering of the populace, to save so many innocent lives, brought matters to actual rebellion. Even in the senate there was a strong feeling on the part of those who shrank from extreme measures, though a majority were opposed to an innovation.

Humane protests.

Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 45.

Clamorous voices rose from all who pitied the number, age, or sex of the slaves, as well as the undoubted innocence of the great majority. Still the party which voted for their execution prevailed. But the sentence could not be carried out in the face of a dense and threatening mob armed with stones and firebrands. Then the emperor reprimanded the people by edict, and lined with a force of soldiers the entire route by which the condemned had to be dragged to execution.

A great fire in Rome.

Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 38.

A disaster followed, whether accidental or treacherously contrived by the emperor, is uncertain; for authors have given both accounts. It was a more dreadful conflagration than had ever before visited this city. The fire started in that part of the Circus which adjoins the Palatine and Cælian hills, where amid the shops containing inflammable wares, the conflagration broke out and instantly became so fierce and so rapid from the wind that it seized in its grasp the entire length of the Circus. For here were no houses fenced in by solid masonry, or temples surrounded by walls, or any other obstacle to cause delay. The furious blaze ran first through the level portion of the city, with those narrow

winding passages and irregular streets which characterized old Rome.

The excitement of the people.

Meanwhile one could hear the wailings of terror-stricken women, and could see the feebleness of age, the helpless inexperience of childhood, the crowds who sought to save themselves or others, dragging out the infirm or waiting for them, and by their hurry in the one case, by their delay in the other, aggravating the confusion. Often while they looked behind them, they were intercepted by flames on their side or in their face. Or if they reached a refuge close at hand, this too was seized by the fire; and so they found that even places which they had imagined remote, were involved in the same calamity.

Despair.

Doubting at last what they should avoid or whither they should flee, they crowded the streets or flung themselves down in the fields, while some who had lost their all, even their daily bread, and others from love of their kinsfolk, whom they had been unable to rescue, perished though escape was open to them. And no one dared stop the mischief, because of incessant threats from a number of persons who forbade the putting out of the flames, and because others openly threw brands, and kept shouting that some one had given them authority; either they sought more freedom for plundering or they were obeying orders.

Nero relieves the distress.

Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 39.

At this time Nero was at Antium, and did not return to Rome until the fire approached his house, which he had built to connect the palace with the gardens of Mæcenas. It could not be stopped, however, from devouring the palace, the house, and everything around it. But to relieve the people, driven homeless out of doors, he threw open to them the Campus Martius and the public buildings of Agrippa, and even his own gardens, and raised temporary structures to shelter the destitute crowd. Supplies of food he brought up from Ostia and the neighboring towns, and reduced the price of corn to three sesterces a peck.

These acts, though popular, produced no effect; for a

rumor had gone forth everywhere that at the very time when the city was in flames the emperor appeared on a private stage and sang of the destruction of Troy, comparing present misfortunes with the disasters of antiquity.

New Rome.

Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 43.

So much of Rome as was left unoccupied by his mansion was built up, not as it had been after its burning by the Gauls, without any regularity or in any fashion, but with rows of streets according to measurement, with broad thoroughfares, with a restriction on the height of houses, with open spaces, and the further addition of colonnades as a protection to the frontage of the blocks of tenements. These colonnades Nero promised to erect at his own expense, and to hand over the open spaces, when cleared of débris, to the landlords. He also offered rewards proportioned to each person's position and property, and prescribed a period within which they were to obtain them on the completion of so many houses or blocks of building. He fixed on the marshes of Ostia for the reception of the rubbish, and arranged that the ships which had brought up corn by the Tiber, should sail down the river with cargoes of this rubbish.

Advantages of the new plan.

The buildings themselves, to a certain height, were to be constructed solidly, — and without wooden beams, — of stone from Gabii or Alba, as that material is impervious to fire. And to provide that the water which individuals had illegally used might flow in greater abundance in several places for the public use, officers were appointed, and every one was to have in the open court the means of stopping a fire. Every building, too, was to be enclosed by its own wall, not by one common to others. These changes, which were liked for their usefulness, added beauty as well to the new city. Some thought, however, that the old arrangement had been more conducive to health, as the narrow streets with the high roofs were not so penetrated with the sun's heat, whereas now the open space, unsheltered by any shade, is scorched with a fiercer glow.

Persecution of the Christians.

Tacitus, *Annals*. xv. 44.

But all human efforts, — all the lavish gifts of the emperor, and the propitiations of the gods, — did not banish the sinister belief that the fire was due to an order. To rid himself of this report, therefore, Nero fastened the guilt and inflicted the most exquisite tortures on a class hated for their evil deeds — a class of people whom the populace called Christians.

Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 25.

In addition to all other crimes, this was yet wanting to complete the catalogue, that he was the first of the emperors to show himself an enemy of piety toward God. This fact is recorded by the Roman Tertullian in nearly the following language: "Examine your records. There you will find that Nero was the first to persecute this doctrine, especially when, after subduing all the East, he exercised his cruelty against all at Rome. Such is the man of whom we boast as the leader in our punishment. For in knowing who he was, any one may know also that there could scarcely be anything great and good which was not condemned by Nero." Publicly announcing himself in this way as the chief enemy of God, Nero was led on in his fury to slaughter the apostles. Paul is said therefore to have been beheaded at Rome under Nero, and Peter to have been crucified in the same reign. . . . If you will go to the Vatican Mount or to the Ostian road, you will find there the trophies of those who have laid the foundation of this church.

(There were wars in the East, but no conquest.)

Suicide of Nero.

Eutropius vii. 15.

When Nero's conduct had made him detestable to the city of Rome, and every one had deserted him, and the senate had declared him an enemy, and he was sought for to be punished, he fled from the palace, and killed himself in a suburban villa of one of his freedmen. This place was between the Salarian and Nomentan roads, at the fourth milestone from the city. . . .

(Northeast of the city.)

He died in the thirty-second year of his age and the fourteenth of his reign; and in him all the family of Augustus became extinct.

Vespasian

(Then came the brief reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.) To Vitellius succeeded Vespasian, who had been chosen emperor in Palestine, — a prince of obscure birth but worthy to be compared with the best emperors, and in public life greatly distinguished. Sent by Claudius into Germany and afterward into Britain, he fought thirty-two times with the enemy; he also added to the Roman empire two powerful nations, twenty towns, and the Isle of Wight on the coast of Britain.

Titus Flavius Vespasianus emperor, 69-79 A.D.

Eutropius vii. 19.

At Rome he acted with the greatest forbearance during his reign, though he was somewhat too eager for money. He did not deprive any one of it unjustly, however, and even when he had collected money with the greatest diligence and anxiety, he was in the habit of distributing it most readily, especially to the needy; so that the liberality of no prince before him was greater or more judicious. His disposition, too, was so mild and amiable that he never willingly inflicted a severer penalty than banishment, even on persons convicted of treason against himself.

His love of money.

He let slip no opportunity for reforming the discipline of the army. When therefore a young man came perfumed to thank the emperor for having appointed him to command a squadron of horse, Vespasian turned away in disgust, and with this sharp reprimand — "I should prefer to have you smell of garlic" — revoked the commission.

His military discipline.

Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 8.

Among his new public buildings was his temple of Peace near the Forum, and on the Cælian Mount that of Claudius, which Agrippina had begun but Nero had almost destroyed. A third was an amphitheatre in the middle of the city, for he found that Augustus had planned such a work. He purified the senatorial and equestrian ranks, which had greatly fallen off in numbers and had lost honor through the neglect of his predecessors. After expelling the unworthy, he chose in their places the most honorable persons in Italy

His buildings.

Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 9.

and the provinces. (This measure brought an improvement in morals.) It is well to trace the causes of the change.

The wealthy.

Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 55.

Formerly rich or highly distinguished noble families sank into ruin from a passion for splendor. Even then men were still at liberty to court the city populace, the allies, and foreign princes, and to be courted in return. Every one, therefore, who from his wealth, his mansion, and his establishment, was especially grand, gained too great a lustre by his name and his many clients.

Better morals.

After the savage massacres in which greatness of renown was fatal, the survivors turned to wiser ways. The new men who were often admitted into the senate from the towns, colonies, and even from the provinces, introduced their household thrift, and though many of them by good luck or energy attained an old age of wealth, still their former tastes remained. But the chief encourager of strict manners was Vespasian, himself old-fashioned in his dress and diet. Henceforth a respectful feeling toward the prince and a love of emulation proved more effective than legal penalties or terrors. Or possibly there is in all things a kind of cycle, and there may be moral revolutions just as there are changes of seasons. But everything was not better in the past, for our age too has produced many examples of excellence and culture for posterity to imitate. May we still keep up with our ancestors a rivalry in all that is honorable!

A patron of learning.

Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 18.

An earnest patron of learning and the liberal arts, Vespasian granted to the Latin and Greek professors of rhetoric the yearly salary of a hundred thousand sesterces each from the treasury. He bought, too, the freedom of superior poets and artists. . . . When some one offered to convey some immense columns into the Capitol at a small expense by a mechanical contrivance, the emperor rewarded him very handsomely for the invention, but refused to accept the service, saying, "Suffer me to find maintenance for the poor people."

The Jewish War.

Vespasian committed the care of the war against the Jews to his son Titus; for after the ascension of our Saviour, the Jews, in addition to their wickedness against him, were now incessantly plotting mischief against his apostles. First they slew Stephen by stoning him, next James, who first obtained the episcopal seat at Jerusalem, after the ascension of our Saviour. . . . But the rest of the apostles they harassed in many ways with a view to destroying them, and they drove them from the land of Judea. These apostles accordingly went to preach the gospel to all nations, relying upon the aid of Christ, when he said, "Go and teach all nations in my name." The whole body of the church at Jerusalem, however, — when commanded by a divine revelation given to men of approved piety there before the war, — removed from the city, and dwelt at a certain town called Pella beyond the Jordan.

Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 5.

Siege of Jerusalem.

The Jews formed their line close under their walls, whence if successful they might venture to advance, and where if repulsed they had a refuge at hand. . . . The Romans then began to prepare for an assault. It seemed beneath them to await the result of famine. . . .

Tacitus, *Histories*, v. 11.

But the commanding situation of the city the Jews had strengthened by enormous works which would have been a thorough defence even for level ground. Two hills of great height they fenced in with walls skilfully bent inward in such a manner that the flank of an assailant was exposed to missiles. The work ended in a precipice; the towers they had raised to a height of sixty feet where the hill lent its aid to the fortification; where the ground fell, they were a hundred and twenty feet high. These towers presented a marvellous appearance, and to a distant spectator seemed to be of uniform height.

Prodigies.

There had been prodigies, which this nation, prone to superstition but hating all religious rites, did not deem it lawful to expiate by offerings and sacrifice. They had seen hosts joining battle in the skies, the fiery gleam of arms, the

Tacitus, *Histories*, v. 13.

temple illuminated by a sudden radiance from the clouds. The doors of the inner shrine suddenly opened, and a voice of more than mortal tone was heard to cry that the Gods were going away. At the same instant there was a mighty stir as of departure.

Their meaning.

A few put a fearful meaning on these events, but in most people was a firm persuasion that the ancient records of their priests contained a prediction that at this very time the East was to grow powerful, and rulers from Judea were to acquire universal empire. These mysterious prophecies had pointed to Vespasian and Titus; but the common people, with the usual blindness of ambition, had interpreted these mighty omens in their own favor, and could not be brought even by disasters to believe the truth.

The fate of the Jews.

Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, iii. 7.

In computing the whole number of the slain, the historian says, that eleven hundred thousand perished by famine, and that the rest, including factions and robbers, mutually informing against each other after the capture, were put to death. Of the young men the tallest and those distinguished for beauty were kept for the triumph. Of the remaining multitude all above seventeen were sent as prisoners to labor in the mines of Egypt. Great numbers, however, were distributed among the provinces, to be destroyed by the sword or by wild beasts in the theatres. Those under seventeen were carried away to be sold as slaves. In the last-named class alone were as many as ninety thousand.

Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 24.

Vespasian died on the eighth of the calends of July at the age of sixty-nine years.

Titus

Titus Flavius Vespasianus emperor, 79–81 A.D.

Suetonius, *Titus*, 1.

Titus, who had the same surname as his father, was the darling and delight of mankind; so much did the natural genius, address, and good fortune he possessed tend to win the favor of all.

Ib. 3.

While yet a boy, he was remarkable for his noble endowments of body and mind; and as he advanced in years,

these qualities became still more prominent. His fine person combined an equal mixture of majesty and grace; though strong, he was not tall but somewhat corpulent. Gifted with an excellent memory and a capacity for all the arts of peace and war, he was a perfect master of the use of arms and riding, very ready in the Latin and Greek languages both in verse and in prose; and such was the facility he possessed in both that he would make speeches and versify extempore.

So far from being unacquainted with music, he could sing and play on the harp sweetly and scientifically. I have been told, too, by many persons that he was remarkably quick in writing short-hand. Often in merriment and jest he would engage with his secretaries in the imitation of any handwriting he saw, and would often say, "I am admirably qualified for forgery."

The eruption of Vesuvius, 79 A.D.

Suetonius, *Titus*, 8.

Some dreadful accidents happened in his reign, — an eruption of Mount Vesuvius in Campania, and a fire at Rome which continued during three days and three nights. Then, too, there was a plague such as was scarcely ever known before.

Pliny (the Younger), *Letters*, vi. 20.

During many days there had been shocks of an earthquake, which alarmed us little, as they are frequent in Campania; but they were so violent that night that they not only shook everything about us, but seemed in fact to threaten total destruction. My mother flew to my room, where she found me rising in order to awaken her. We went out into a small court belonging to the house, which separated the sea from the building. It was now morning, but the light was very faint and languid; the buildings all round us tottered, and though we stood on open ground, yet as the place was narrow and confined, there was no remaining without imminent danger.

Flight of Pliny and his mother.

We therefore resolved to leave the town. The people followed us in the utmost consternation, and pressed in great crowds about us on our way out. After going a con-

venient distance from the houses, we stood still in the midst of a most dangerous and awe-inspiring scene. The carriages we had ordered to be drawn out were so agitated backward and forward, though on the most level ground, that we could not keep them steady even by supporting them with large stones. The sea seemed to roll back upon itself, and to be driven from its banks by the convulsive motions of the earth. Certainly the shore was considerably enlarged and several sea-animals were left on it. On the other hand, a black and dreadful cloud, bursting with fiery, serpentine vapor, darted out a long train of flame, which resembled flashes of lightning, but were much larger. . . .

On the road to Misenum.

Soon afterward the cloud seemed to descend, and cover the whole ocean ; as in fact it entirely hid the island of Capreæ and the promontory of Misenum. My mother conjured me to make my escape at any rate, which, as I was young, I might easily accomplish. As for herself, she said, her age and corpulency rendered all attempts of that sort impossible ; she would willingly meet death, however, if she could have the satisfaction of seeing that she was not the occasion of mine. But I absolutely refused to leave her ; and taking her by the hand, I led her on. She complied with great reluctance, and not without many reproaches to herself for being the cause of retarding my flight. The ashes now began to fall upon us, though in no great quantity. I turned my head and saw behind us a thick smoke, which came rolling after us like a torrent. I proposed while we had yet any light, to turn out of the high road, lest she should be pressed to death in the dark by the crowd which followed us.

In total darkness.

We had scarcely stepped out of the path, when darkness overspread us, not like that of a cloudy night, or when there is no moon, but of a room when it is shut up and all the lights extinct. Nothing then was to be heard but the shrieks of women, the screams of children, and the cries of men. Some were calling for their children, others for their parents,

others for their husbands; they distinguished one another only by the voice. One was lamenting his own fate, another that of his family; some were wishing to die from very fear of dying; some were lifting their hands to the gods; but the greater number imagined that the last and eternal night had come, to destroy the gods and the world together. . . .

Fire and ashes.

At length a glimmering light appeared, which we imagined to be the forerunner of an approaching burst of flame rather than the return of day, and in this respect we were right. The fire fell at a distance from us, however, and then we were immersed in thick darkness; a heavy shower of ashes fell upon us, which we were obliged every now and then to shake off, otherwise we should have been overwhelmed and buried in a heap. . . . At last this terrible darkness gradually faded, like a cloud of smoke; the real day returned and even the sun appeared, though very faintly, just as when an eclipse is coming on. Every object which presented itself seemed changed, for it was covered with white ashes, as with a deep snow.

At Misenum.

(Pliny the Elder, who was observing the eruption.)

We returned to Misenum, where we refreshed ourselves as well as we could, and passed an anxious night between hope and fear, though in fact with a much larger share of the latter. . . . Notwithstanding the danger we had passed, and that which still threatened us, my mother and I had no intention of leaving Misenum till we should receive some account of my uncle.

The emperor's kindness.

Suetonius, *Titus*, 8.

Amid these many great disasters Titus showed not only the concern which might be expected from a prince, but even the affection of a father for his people. . . . He chose by lot from among the men of consular rank commissioners for repairing the losses in Campania. The estates of those who had perished by the eruption of Vesuvius, and who had left no heirs, he applied to the repair of the ruined cities.

Ib. 10.

Amid all these favorable circumstances he was cut off by

an untimely death, more to the loss of mankind than of himself.

Domitian

Titus Flavius Domitianus emperor, 81–96 A.D.

Eutropius vii. 23.

The person who next received the imperial dignity was Domitian, the younger brother of Titus, but more like Nero, Caligula, or Tiberius than like his father or brother. In the beginning of his reign, however, he used his power with moderation.

On his first coming into authority, he felt great abhorrence for the shedding of blood. Before his father's arrival in Rome, Domitian called to mind the verse of Vergil,

Suetonius, *Domitian*, 9.

> Ere impious man, restrained from blood in vain,
> Began to feast on flesh of bullocks slain.

Filled with this sentiment, he planned to issue a proclamation to forbid the sacrifice of oxen. Before his accession to power and for some time afterward he hardly gave the least ground for being suspected of covetousness or avarice; on the contrary he often afforded proofs not only of his justice, but of his liberality.

A patron of learning.

Suetonius, *Domitian*, 20.

Though in the beginning of his reign he gave up the study of the liberal sciences, he took care to restore, at a vast expense, the libraries which had been burned. Everywhere he collected manuscripts, and he sent scribes to Alexandria, to copy or to correct them. Yet he never gave himself the trouble to read history or poetry, or to use his pen even for his private purposes. He read nothing but the *Commentaries* and *Acts* of Tiberius Cæsar. His letters, speeches, and edicts were all drawn up for him by others; though he could converse with elegance, and sometimes expressed himself in memorable language.

Cf. p. 275.

Military affairs.

Suetonius, *Domitian*, 6.

He undertook several expeditions, some from choice and some from necessity. That against the Catti was unprovoked, but the one against the Sarmations was necessary; for an entire legion, with the commander, had been destroyed by them. Two expeditions he sent against the

Dacians. (Through Agricola he completed the conquest of Britain.)

(The Catti, or Chatti, were a large German tribe; the Dacians, north of the Danube, were probably related to the Thracians; the Sarmatians, in eastern Europe, were mostly Slavic.)

Appointed governor of Britain, Agricola chose rather to confer offices and employments upon such as would not offend, than to condemn those who had offended. The expense resulting from an increase of the military tribunes he made easier by a just and equal assessment; he abolished those private exactions which were more grievous than the taxes themselves. For the inhabitants had been compelled in mockery to sit by their own locked-up granaries, to buy corn needlessly, and to sell it again at a stated price. Long and difficult journeys had also been imposed upon them; for the several districts, instead of being allowed to supply the nearest winter quarters, were forced to carry their corn to remote and out-of-the-way places. Thus what was easy for all to procure was converted into an article of gain to a few.

Britain.

Tacitus, *Agricola*, 19.

By suppressing these abuses in the first year of his administration, he established a favorable idea of peace, which through the negligence or oppression of earlier rulers, had been no less dreaded than war.

Ib. 20.

In order by a taste of pleasure to reclaim the natives from that rude and unsettled state which prompted them to war, and win them to peace and quiet, he induced them by private urging and public encouragements to erect temples, courts of justice, and dwelling-houses. He bestowed praise upon those who were prompt in carrying out his intention, and reprimanded the slow. In this way he promoted the spirit of emulation which had all the force of necessity.

Civilization and education.

Tacitus, *Agricola*, 21.

Preferring the natural genius of the Britons to the attainments of the Gauls, he took care to provide a liberal education for the sons of the chieftains. . . . These attempts met with such success that they who lately disdained to use the Roman language were now ambitious to become eloquent. Hence they began to hold the Roman dress in honor and to wear the toga.

Retirement of Agricola.

Tacitus, *Agricola*, 39.

Ib. 40.

Domitian's greatest dread was that the name of a private person might be exalted above that of a prince. Agricola had delivered the province in peace and security to his successor; and lest his entrance into the city might be rendered too conspicuous by the gathering and the acclamations of the people, he declined the salutations of his friends by arriving in the night; and he went by night, as he was commanded, to the palace. There after being received with a slight embrace but with not a word spoken, he was compelled to mingle with the servile throng.

In this situation he tried by the practice of new virtues to soften the glare of military reputation, which is offensive to those who themselves live in indolence. Resigning himself to ease and quiet, he was modest in his garb and equipage, affable in conversation, and in public was accompanied by one or two only of his friends. The many are accustomed to form their ideas of great men from their retinue and figure. When they saw Agricola, accordingly, they were apt to call in question his renown; few could interpret his conduct.

Domitian's archery.

Suetonius, *Domitian*, 19.

Domitian did not like the exercise of arms, but was expert in the use of the bow. Many persons have often seen him kill a hundred wild animals of various kinds at his Alban retreat. He would cleverly fix two arrows in each one's head like a pair of horns. Sometimes he would aim the arrows with such precision against the expanded hand of a boy standing at a distance, that they all passed between the boy's fingers without hurting him.

Justice.

Suetonius, *Domitian*, 8.

In the administration of justice he was careful and diligent; and he often sat in the Forum to cancel the judgments of the Court of One Hundred, which had been procured through favor or interest. . . . On judges convicted of taking bribes, as well as on their assistants, he set a mark of infamy. . . . He took such care, too, in punishing magistrates of the city and governors of provinces, guilty of malversation, that they were never at any other time more moderate or more just.

Personal appearance.

Suetonius, *Domitian*, 18.

He was tall, with a modest, ruddy face. Though his eyes were large, he was dim-sighted. Naturally graceful in person, especially in his youth, — excepting only that his toes were bent somewhat inward, — he was at last disfigured by baldness, corpulence, and a slenderness of his legs, which a long illness had reduced. . . . In a small tract which he published and addressed to a friend *Concerning the Preservation of the Hair*, he uses for their mutual consolation the following words : —

"'Seest thou my graceful mien, my stately form?' And yet the fate of my hair awaits me. I bear with fortitude, however, this loss of my hair while I am still young. Remember that nothing is more fascinating than beauty, but nothing of shorter duration."

Death.

Suetonius, *Domitian*, 23.

The people showed little concern at his death (by assassination), but the soldiers were roused by it to great indignation, and immediately tried to have him ranked among the gods.

Life and Manners

City and country life.

Juvenal, *Satires*, iii.

The poor among the Romans ought long ago to have emigrated in a body. Not easily do those emerge from obscurity whose noble qualities are cramped by domestic poverty : but at Rome the attempt is still harder for them ; a great price must be paid for a wretched lodging, a great price for a slave's keep, a great price for a modest little dinner. A man is ashamed to dine off earthenware, which he would not think discreditable if he were suddenly transported to the Marsians and a Sabine repast, and contented there with wearing a thick, sea-green capote.

(The Marsians, the Sabines, and other rural people of Italy lived far more simply than the Romans of this time.)

There is a large part of Italy, if we accept the truth, in which no one wears a toga but the dead. Whenever even the majesty of festive days is celebrated in a grassy theatre, and at length the well-known interlude appears on the stage, when the rustic infant in its mother's lap is frightened at the gaping of the ghastly mask, there you will see an equality of dress, in the orchestra stalls and among the people alike ;

Dress in country and city.

and as the garb of their high office, white tunics are sufficient for the highest ædiles.

Here (in Rome) splendor of dress is carried beyond people's means; here something more than is enough is occasionally taken out of another man's strong-box. This vice is common to us all; here all of us live in a state of pretentious poverty. Why detain you further? In Rome everything costs a price. . . .

Falling houses.

Who fears, or ever has feared, the falling of a house at cool Præneste, or at Volsinii seated among the wooded hills, or at primitive Gabii, or on the heights of sloping Tibur? We inhabit a city propped up to a great extent with thin buttresses; for in this way the steward prevents the houses from falling; and when he has plastered over the gaping of an old crack, he bids us sleep secure, with ruin overhanging us. The place to live in is where there are no fires, no nocturnal alarms.

Scene at a fire; Ucalegon burned out.

Already Ucalegon is calling for water, already he is removing his chattels, already your third story is smoking: you yourself know nothing about it; for if the alarm begins from the bottom of the stairs, he will be the last to burn whom the tiling alone protects from the rain, where the soft doves lay their eggs.

Codrus burned out.

Codrus had a couch too small for his Procula, six little jugs, the ornament of his sideboard, and a tiny drinking cup beneath into the bargain, and a figure of Chiron reclining under the same marble; a chest, old by this time, contained some Greek books, and the barbarian mice were gnawing the divine poems. Codrus had nothing; who denies this? And yet the wretched man lost all that nothing (by the fire); but the crowning point of his misery is, that though naked and begging for broken scraps, no one will help him with food, no one with shelter or a roof.

A rich man's fire.

If the great house of Asturicus has been destroyed, we have the matrons dishevelled, the nobles in mourning, the prætor adjourning his court; then we groan over the acci-

dents of the town, then we detest fire. The fire is still burning and already some one runs up to make a present of marbles, and share in the expenses of rebuilding. One will contribute nude, white statues, another some masterpiece of Euphranor or Polycletus; some lady will give antique ornaments of Asiatic gods, another man books and bookcases and a bust of Minerva, another a bushel of silver. Persicus replaces what is lost by choicer and more numerous objects, most sumptuous of childless men, and is suspected with reason of having himself set fire to his own house.

"Buy a country home."

If you are capable of being torn away from the games of the Circus, an excellent house can be procured at Sora, or Fabrateria, or Frusino, for the same price at which you now hire a dark hole for a single year. There you have a little garden; and a shallow well, that does not require to be worked with a rope, irrigates your tender plants with easy draught. Live in love with your hoe, and the overseer of your own trim garden, from which you could furnish a banquet for a hundred Pythagoreans. It is something, in whatever place, to have made yourself the owner of a single lizard.

(The Pythagoreans were vegetarians; *Greece*, p. 95.)

"You cannot sleep in Rome."

Many a sick man here dies from want of sleep, the indisposition itself having been produced by food undigested, and clinging to the fevered stomach. For what hired lodgings allow of sleep? Rich men alone can sleep in the city. Hence the origin of the disease. The passage of carriages in the narrow windings of the streets, and the abuse of the drovers from the herds when they are brought to a stand, would rob of sleep even Drusus and the sea-calves.

(The emperor Claudius Drusus and the sea-calves were famous sleepers.)

The rich in litters; the poor on foot

If invited to a "function," the rich man will be carried through the yielding crowd, and will speed over their heads on his huge Liburnian bearers, and will read on his way, or write, or even sleep inside; for a litter with closed windows is productive of sleep. Yet he will arrive before us; we, in our hurry, are impeded by a wave in front, while the multitude which follows us presses on our sides in dense array; one strikes me with his elbow, another with a hard pole, one

knocks a beam against my head, another a wine-jar. My legs are sticky with mud; before long I am trodden on upon all sides by large feet, and the hobnails of a soldier stick into my toe. . . .

The dangers of the night; falling pottery.

Observe now the different and distinct dangers of the night; what a height it is to the lofty house-tops, from which a piece of pottery strikes your pate as often as cracked and broken utensils fall from the windows; with what a weight they dint and damage the flint pavement when they strike it. You may well be accounted remiss and improvident about a sudden accident, if you go out to supper without having made your will. . . .

Drunkards, burglars, and footpads.

(The drunken and insolent fellow) despises me, whom the moon escorts home, or the dim light of a candle, whose wick I regulate and husband. Mark the preliminaries of the wretched brawl, if brawl it be, where he strikes and I alone am beaten. He stands facing you, and orders you to stand; you must needs obey, for what are you to do when a madman forces you, and he too stronger than yourself? "Whence do you come?" he exclaims. "With whose vinegar, with whose beans are you gorged? What cobbler cut leeks or sodden sheep's-head with you? Do you answer me nothing? Speak, or be kicked! Tell me where you take up your begging-stand; in what synagogue am I to look for you?" It is all the same whether you try to say anything, or draw back in silence; they beat you just the same; then, as if in passion, they try to make you give bail. This is the liberty of a poor man; after being beaten he prays, and after being thrashed with fisty-cuffs, he entreats to be allowed to retire from the scene with a few teeth left him. Nor yet are such things all you have to fear; for there will not be wanting one who will plunder you after the houses are closed, and in all directions the fastenings of the chained-up shops are fixed and at rest. . . .

"Off for the country."

To these reasons (for disliking city life) I could add many others; but my steeds summon me, and the sun is declining; I must be off (for the country).

STUDIES

1. Give an account of the life and occupation of Claudius before his accession.

2. Why should he be called "a learned fool"? How does his censorship show that his mind was somewhat unbalanced?

3. What proves his breadth of view in contrast with the narrowness of the senators? What had he learned from the study of history?

4. Describe his personal appearance and manners.

5. Give an account of the accession of Nero. Who were his advisers?

6. What promises did he make in his inaugural speech to the senate? Who was probably the author of this address?

7. Describe his accomplishments in music; his Golden House.

8. When a master was assassinated, what was done with the slaves? Why did the populace try to prevent the enforcement of this law? Who showed themselves the more humane, the senators or the common people?

9. Describe the great fire at Rome. Was Nero probably responsible for it? What did he do to relieve the distress and repair the damage? Compare new Rome with the old.

10. Why did Nero persecute the Christians?

11. Give an account of the reign of Vespasian. Was he really avaricious (cf. *Rome*, p. 235)? What public buildings did he erect?

12. How did he improve the morals of society?

13. Give an account of the siege of Jerusalem.

14. Describe the character of Titus. How did he resemble his father?

15. Summarize Pliny's story of the eruption of Vesuvius. What may we infer from this story as to Pliny's character?

16. Compare the character of Domitian (1) with that of Titus and Vespasian, (2) with that of Tiberius. What were the good features of his character?

17. Give an account of Agricola in Britain. Why did he retire into private life?

18. What were the comparative advantages and disadvantages of city and country life at this time, as illustrated by the passage from Juvenal? What may we learn from this extract regarding the manners and habits of the Romans?

CHAPTER XI

The Five Good Emperors

(96–180 A.D.)

NERVA

Nerva emperor, 96–98 A.D.

Aurelius Victor, *Roman Emperors*, 11.

THUS far the rulers of the empire were Romans or Italians; thereafter some of them were aliens. This fact proves that Rome grew great through the merits of foreigners; for who could have been wiser or more moderate than Nerva? who more divine than Trajan? who more excellent than Hadrian?

(His ancestors had come from Crete to Narnia, Umbria.)

Ib. 12.

Cocceius Nerva was born in the town of Narnia, and reigned a year, four months, and ten days. Soon after he had accepted the imperial office, a rumor spread that Domitian was still alive and would shortly make his appearance. The report so terrified Nerva that he turned pale and speechless, and could scarcely stand erect. Reassured by Parthenius, however, he recovered courage, and directed his thoughts to the pleasant festivity of the inauguration.

The emperor's burden.

(Grandfather of the emperor Antoninus.)

The senators received him with congratulations; but one of them, Arrius Antoninus, an energetic man and an intimate friend of Nerva, made some true remarks on the unenviable lot of rulers; and after embracing the new emperor, he said: "I congratulate the senate, the people, and the provinces, but not Nerva, who in fact has been more fortunate in always escaping the wrath of bad princes than in having now to endure so heavy a burden; for he must expose himself, not only to anxieties and dangers but to all the idle talk of

friends and foes alike. And it often happens that when friends think they deserve everything, but are unable to obtain the favor they seek, they become more implacable than declared enemies."

Nerva's benevolence.

Nerva remitted all the tribute which had been imposed for punishment and was still due; he came to the relief of cities in distress; and he enacted that the children, — both boys and girls, — of poor parents should be supported in the towns of Italy at public expense.

Too mild toward wrong-doers.

Junius Mauricus, a trustworthy friend, (ironically) advised him one day not to be afraid to give free access to the evil-minded. Invited by the emperor to a private dinner, Mauricus saw reclining at the table a certain Veiento, who had held the office of consul under Domitian, and yet had brought anonymous accusations against many persons. In the course of conversation mention happened to be made of Catullus, a notorious informer; and when Nerva asked what Catullus would now be doing, had he survived Domitian, Mauricus replied, "He would be dining with us."

Nerva was learned in the science of law, and constantly attended the courts. When Calpurnius Crassus was found guilty of having tried with boundless promises to corrupt the loyalty of the soldiers, and had confessed the wrong, Nerva merely banished him and his wife to Tarentum, in spite of the reproaches which the senators heaped upon his mildness.

The murderers of Domitian.

When asked to give up the murderers of Domitian to be put to death, he was so terrified that he lost control of himself. Nevertheless he resisted the demand with all his might, saying over and over that he would rather die than stain the imperial authority with such a crime, or betray those who had raised him to his present office. The soldiers paid no attention to the prince, however, and when they had got the murderers in their power, they killed Petronius with one blow, and strangled Parthenius after mutilating him. Casperius (the pretorian prefect involved in the conspiracy

against Domitian) bought his life by the payment of a large sum of money. Made more insolent by his success in the terrible crime, he compelled Nerva in an assembly of the people to thank the soldiers for having put to death "the two most infamous and most guilty wretches in the empire."

The adoption of Trajan.

The emperor then adopted Trajan as his son, and associated him in the government. With him Nerva reigned no more than three months. One day he angrily cried out in a loud voice against a certain Regulus, calling him by name, when suddenly he was seized with a profuse sweating; and as this symptom passed away he shivered with cold. A fever set in, from which he soon died, in the sixty-third year of his age. At his funeral his body was borne by senators, as that of Augustus had been, and he was buried in the tomb of Augustus. On the day of his death there was an eclipse of the sun.

Trajan

Trajan emperor, 98–117 A.D.

Aurelius Victor, *Roman Emperors*, 13.

(Tudertinum is unknown. In fact Trajan was born in Italica, Spain, the home of Hadrian.)

Ulpius Trajan of the city of Tudertinum was named Ulpius after his grandfather, and Trajan after Trajus, the founder of his father's family, or (more directly) after his father Trajan. In his reign of twenty years he showed himself so great a public character that the wonderful genius of the most eminent writers has scarcely been equal to the task of fitly setting forth his merits. Receiving the imperial office at Agrippina (now Cologne), a famous colony of Gaul, he proved himself an able commander and a mild ruler — always ready to relieve generously the wants of the communities of the empire. Whereas we look for two qualities in the model prince, — integrity in peace, bravery in war, and prudence everywhere, — Trajan had all excellent qualities in so large a measure that his character seems to have been a perfect combination of virtues, excepting that he was somewhat too fond of the banquet and wine.

His most striking merits.

Liberal to his friends, he enjoyed their company just as though he were on their social level. In memory of Sura,

whose energy had given him the empire, he erected public baths. It seems superfluous to mention each one of his merits in detail, since it is enough to have said that he developed and perfected every good quality. For he was a tireless worker and a zealous protector of good citizens and of the soldiers. Especially he loved genius in all its simplicity, and was a friend of learning in every department, though he had little scientific training and but moderate ability as a speaker.

Justice and law.

In the administration of justice and in religious and civil law, he was a prolific author of new regulations as well as a faithful guardian of ancient institutions. All these characteristics seem the greater from the fact that after the empire had been overturned and trodden under by many cruel tyrants, people believed that heaven sent them Trajan at the right moment for remedying this evil condition. Many wonders accordingly foretold his accession. For instance, a crow on the roof of the Capitoline temple cried out in Attic Greek, " It will be well (καλῶς ἔσται) !" . . .

Misfortunes.

In his reign the Tiber, overflowing its banks with far greater injury than had been the case under Nerva, destroyed many houses along the shores ; and there were terrible earthquakes in many provinces, a fearful plague and a famine. All these misfortunes Trajan promptly relieved ; and he passed a law which limited the height of houses to sixty feet, that they might be in less danger of falling, and that in case they should fall, they might be repaired at less expense. For all these benefits he received the name Father of his Country.

Summary of his character as a ruler.

Greater than his military glory was his ability and judgment as a ruler, for he conducted himself as an equal toward all, often visiting his friends, either when they were ill or when they were celebrating festivals, entertaining them in his turn at banquets, where there was no distinction of rank, and riding frequently with them in their chariots, in no way unjust toward any of the senators, or guilty of any

Eutropius viii. 4.

dishonesty to fill his treasury, exercising liberality to all, enriching with offices of trust, publicly and privately, every one whom he had even slightly known, building towns throughout the world, granting many immunities to states, and doing everything with gentleness and kindness; so that during his whole reign there was but one senator condemned, and he was sentenced by the senate without Trajan's knowledge. Regarded therefore throughout the world as next to a god, he deservedly obtained the highest veneration both in his lifetime and after death.

Eutropius viii. 5.

Among his sayings the following remarkable one is mentioned. When his friends found fault with him for being too courteous to everybody, he replied: "I am such an emperor to my subjects as I have wished, when a subject, that emperors should be to me."

His achievements in war.

Eutropius vii. 2.

He exercised the government in such a manner that he is deservedly preferred to all the other emperors. He was a man of extraordinary skill in managing affairs of state, and of remarkable courage. The limits of the Roman empire, which since the reign of Augustus had been defended rather than honorably enlarged, he extended far and wide. He rebuilt some cities in Germany; by the overthrow of Decebalus he subdued Dacia, and formed a province beyond the Danube. . . . This province was a thousand miles in circumference.

Ib. viii. 3.

He recovered Armenia, which the Parthians had seized, and put to death Parthamasires, who held the government of that country. He gave a king to the Albanians. He received into alliance the kings of the Iberians, Sarmatians, Bosporanians, Arabs, Osdroenians, and Colchians. He gained the mastery over the Corduenians and the Marcomedians, as well as over Anthemusia, an extensive region of Persia. He conquered and kept possession of Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Babylon, and the country of the Messenians. He advanced as far as the boundaries of India and the Red Sea, where he formed three provinces, — Armenia, Assyria,

and Mesopotamia, including the tribes which border on Madena (Media). Afterward he reduced Arabia to the form of a province, and fitted out a fleet for the Red Sea, to use in laying waste the coasts of India.

His death.

Eutropius viii. 5.

After gaining the greatest glory both in the field and at home, he was cut off by sickness at Seleucia in Isauria, as he was returning from Persia. He died in the sixty-third year, ninth month, and fourth day of his age, and in the nineteenth year, ninth month, and fifteenth day of his reign. Not only was he enrolled among the gods, but he alone of all the emperors received burial within the city. His bones, contained in a golden urn, lie in the Forum which he himself built, under a column whose height is a hundred and forty-four feet. So much respect has been paid to his memory that even in our own times they shout in acclamation of the emperors, "More fortunate than Augustus, better than Trajan!" So much has the fame of his goodness prevailed that it affords ground for most noble illustration in the hands either of those who flatter or of those who sincerely praise.

Trajan's Correspondence with Pliny, Governor of Bithynia

To the Emperor Trajan:

The finances of a municipium.

Pliny, *Letters*, 16 (or 28).

I am at present engaged in examining the finances of the Prusenses, their disbursements and credits; and the farther I proceed in this affair, the more I am convinced of the necessity of my inquiry. Several considerable sums of money are owing to the city from private persons, who on various pretences neglect to pay the debts. On the other hand, I find the public funds are in some instances unwarrantably applied.

"Send a surveyor."

This, Sir, I write to you immediately on my arrival. I entered this province on the seventeenth of September, and found it in those sentiments of obedience and loyalty which you justly merit from all mankind. You will consider, Sir,

whether it would not be proper to send hither a surveyor; for I am inclined to think much might be deducted from what is charged by those who have the conduct of public works, if an accurate measurement were to be taken.

TRAJAN TO PLINY:

Letters, 17 (or 29).

The people of that province will be convinced, I persuade myself, that I am attentive to their interests; as your conduct toward them will make it clear that I could have chosen no person better fitted to supply my place. . . . I have scarcely surveyors enough to inspect those works which I am carrying on in Rome and the neighborhood; but persons of integrity and skill in this art may be found most certainly in every province, if you will make due inquiry.

TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN:

A fire in the capital.

Pliny, *Letters*, 42.

While I was making a journey in a different part of the province, a most destructive fire broke out at Nicomedia, which consumed not only several private houses, but also two public buildings, — the town house and the temple of Isis, though they stood on opposite sides of the street. The cause of its spreading thus wide was partly the violence of the wind, and partly the indolence of the people, who, it appears, stood fixed and idle spectators of this terrible calamity. The truth is that the city was not furnished with engines, buckets, or any single instrument for extinguishing fires. I have now, however, given directions to provide this apparatus.

"May we have a fire-company?"

You will consider, Sir, whether it may not be advisable to form a company of firemen, consisting of only a hundred and fifty members. I will take care that none but those of that occupation shall be admitted into it; and that the privileges granted them shall not be extended to any other purpose. As this corporate body will be restricted to so small a number of members, it will be easy to keep them under proper regulations.

TRAJAN TO PLINY:

You are of the opinion that it would be proper to establish a company of firemen in Nicomedia, agreeably to what has been practised in other cities. But remember that societies of this sort have greatly disturbed the peace of the provinces in general, and particularly of those cities in which they exist. Whatever name we give them, and for whatever purpose they may be instituted, they will not fail to form themselves into factious assemblies, however short their meetings may be. It will therefore be safer to provide such machines as are of service in extinguishing fires, to enjoin the owners of houses to assist in preventing the mischief from spreading, and if it should be necessary, to call in the aid of the populace.

"Corporations are dangerous."

Letters, 43.

(Private assemblies were forbidden by a law of the Twelve Tables; p. 93.)

TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN:

The debts which were owing to the public are by the prudence, Sir, of your counsels, and by the care of my administration, either actually paid, or are now recovering; but I fear the money must be unemployed. For on the one hand, there are few or no opportunities of purchasing land, and on the other, one cannot meet with any person who is willing to borrow of the public, — especially at the rate of twelve percent, — when it is possible to raise money on the same terms from private lenders. You will therefore consider, Sir, whether it may not be advisable, in order to invite responsible persons to take this money, to lower the interest; or if that scheme should not succeed, to place it in the hands of the members of the city councils, upon their giving sufficient security to the public. And though they should not be willing to receive it, yet as the rate of interest will be abated, the hardship will be so much the less.

"Shall we compel the councillors to borrow from the public?"

Pliny, *Letters*, 62.

TRAJAN TO PLINY:

I agree with you, my dear Pliny, that there seems to be no other method of facilitating the placing out of the public

"Oppress no one in this way."

Letters, 63.

money, than by lowering the interest; the rate you will determine according to the number of borrowers. But to compel persons to receive it, who are not so disposed, when possibly they themselves may have no opportunity of employing it, is by no means consistent with the justice of my government.

To the Emperor Trajan:

The Christians.

Pliny, *Letters*, 97.

It is a rule, Sir, which I inviolably observe, to refer to you in all my doubts; for who is more able to remove my scruples or to inform my ignorance? As I have never before been present at any trials of persons called Christians, I am unacquainted, not only with the nature of their crimes and the degree of their punishment, but how far it is proper to enter into an examination of them. . . .

Meanwhile the method I have followed toward those who have been brought before me as Christians is this: I asked them whether they were Christians; if they confessed, I repeated the question twice, adding threats; and if they still persevered, I ordered them to be immediately punished. For I was persuaded, whatever the nature of their opinions might be, a contumacious and inflexible obstinacy deserved correction. . . .

(Cf. note on *Letter* 43.)

They affirm the whole of their guilt, or their error, was that they met on a certain stated day before it was light, and addressed themselves in a form of prayer to Christ, as to some god, binding themselves by a solemn oath, not for the purpose of any wicked deed, but never to commit any fraud, theft, or adultery; never to falsify their word, nor deny a trust when they should be called upon to deliver it up; afterward, they said, it was their custom to separate, and then reassemble, to eat in common a harmless meal. . . .

I deemed it expedient, therefore, to adjourn all further proceedings, in order to consult you. For it appears to be a matter highly deserving your consideration; more especially as great numbers must be involved in the danger of

these prosecutions, which have already extended, and are still likely to extend, to persons of all ranks and ages and even to both sexes.

TRAJAN TO PLINY:

"Be just, but do not meddle."

Letters, 98.

The method you have pursued, my dear Pliny, in the proceedings against those Christians who were brought before you is extremely proper, as it is not possible to lay down any fixed rule by which to act in all cases of this nature. But I would not have you enter officiously into any inquiries concerning them. If they should be brought before you, however, and the charge should be proved, they must be punished, — yet with this restriction that in case a person denies he is a Christian, and shall make it evident that he is not, by invoking our gods, let him be pardoned upon repentance.

Informations without the accuser's name subscribed ought not to be received in prosecutions of any kind; as it is introducing a very dangerous precedent, by no means agreeable to the equity of my government.

HADRIAN

Ælius Hadrianus emperor, 117–138 A.D.

Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 1.

The family of the emperor Hadrian belonged originally to Picenum, but afterward made its home in Spain; for Hadrian in his autobiography informs us that his ancestors once lived in Hadria, but in the age of the Scipios settled in Italica. His father was Ælius Hadrianus. . . . Left an orphan in his tenth year, he received as guardians his kinsman Trajan, then prætor and afterward emperor, and Cælius Attianus, a Roman knight. He devoted himself eagerly to Greek literature, for which he had so natural an aptitude that people called him the Greekling.

His accession.

Returning to his native land (Spain) in his fifteenth year, he entered military service, but showed himself culpably fond of hunting. Trajan summoned him from Spain, and

Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 2.

loved him as his own son. (With the help of Plotina he became emperor after Trajan. Many years of his reign he devoted to travel through the provinces.)

Military discipline.

Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 10.

Arriving in Gaul, he liberally relieved the needy, and then passed on to Germany. Though more desirous of peace than of war, he exercised his soldiers as if war threatened; he hardened them to fatigue, set them, in his own person, an example of military virtue, and readily ate the food of the camp — bacon, cheese, and vinegar mixed with water; in these respects he imitated Scipio Æmilianus, Metellus, and Trajan, the author of his fortune. To make his men willing to endure hardships, he rewarded many with money, some with offices. The military discipline, which after Cæsar Octavianus had declined through the neglect of the emperors, Hadrian restored. This he did partly by regulating the offices and the expenses, and partly by suffering no soldier, without due cause, to be absent from the camp. Another means to this end was the appointment of tribunes, not for their popularity with the troops, but because of each one's sense of justice. By his own example, too, he encouraged the rest to strict discipline, for he was accustomed to walk clad in armor twenty miles a day along with his infantry.

He banishes luxuries.

Dining-rooms, porticos, grottoes, and pleasure-gardens he banished from the camp. He himself generally wore a simple cloak with a plain belt fastened by a buckle without jewels; and by his side hung a sword with no more ornament than an ivory handle. His sick troops he visited in their quarters; and he himself always selected the place for encampment. The office of centurion he conferred on none but those of robust health and good character; no one could be a tribune unless he had a full beard and was old enough to fill his office with prudence and force. A tribune was not permitted to accept the smallest gift from his soldiers.

Delicacies of every kind he removed absolutely from the army; and not only did he improve the arms and the furnishings of the soldiers, but regulated their ages, so as to

enlist none too young for effective service and to retain no one longer than the humane law of earlier times prescribed. It was his especial care to know the soldiers individually and to keep informed as to their numbers.

His knowledge of affairs.

Furthermore he tried to acquaint himself with the military supplies of the empire, and he examined minutely the revenues from the provinces in order to relieve all needs; and no emperor was ever so careful to avoid buying and keeping useless material.

Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 11.

When Hadrian had reformed the soldiers of Germany after the pattern of their emperor, he crossed into Britain. In addition to other improvements there, he was the first to build a wall — eighty miles in length — to separate the barbarians from the Romans. . . .

Rome, p. 251; *Ancient History*, p. 404.

His prying disposition.

Curious to learn the trifling details not only of his own household but of his friends' families as well, he employed detectives to pry into all their secrets. Often his friends failed to discover that their private affairs were known to the emperor till he gave them the information. It may be of interest here to tell a story which shows how well acquainted Hadrian was with the affairs of his friends. One of them received a letter from his wife reproaching him for staying away from home to give himself up to the baths and other pleasures. Immediately a detective informed Hadrian of the contents of this letter. When accordingly the man came to ask a passport, the emperor rebuked him for his devotion to baths and luxurious living. "What!" the man exclaimed, "has my wife been writing this to you, too?" People blamed Hadrian for his prying disposition, as they considered it a grave fault.

In Gaul and Spain.

After the emperor had regulated the affairs of Britain, he returned to Gaul, where he received the unpleasant news of an insurrection in Alexandria over an Apis. As an animal of this kind was discovered after a long interval, the various tribes of Egypt were violently contending for the honor of giving the sacred beast a dwelling-place.

Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 12.

Ancient History, p. 13.

About the same time Hadrian erected at Nîmes a magnificent basilica in memory of Plotina. Then he went to Spain to winter in Terragona (Lat. Tarraco), where he repaired at his own expense a temple to Augustus, and held a general assembly of the Spanish provincials.

In Greece and Asia Minor.

Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 13.

(For the Eleusinian mysteries, see *Greece*, p. 97.)

(Afterward he visited Greece,) where like Hercules and King Philip he had himself initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. He not only conferred many benefits on the Athenians, but sat as judge in their public games. Then he sailed for Sicily. After his arrival there, he climbed Mount Ætna to view a sunrise, which from that spot was beautified with the varied colors of the rainbow. Thence he returned to Rome; but setting out immediately for the Orient, he travelled through Athens, where he dedicated the works he had begun, including a temple to the Olympian Jupiter (Zeus) and an altar to himself.

In the same way, as he journeyed through Asia, he consecrated temples in his own name. In Cappadocia he engaged many slaves for labor in the military camps. (Wherever he went, he busied himself with winning the friendship and alliance of foreign kings.) . . . In his circuit of the provinces he punished procurators and governors with such severity that people believed he had himself incited persons to accuse them.

Rome, p. 205.

His laws.

Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 18.

In judicial affairs he made up his council, not of friends and companions but of learned jurists, — Julius Celsus, Salvius Julianus, Neratius Priscus, and others, — only those, however, whom the senate had approved.

Among his enactments the following are most noteworthy:

In no city shall buildings be destroyed for the use of the material in some other city.

To children of condemned persons a twelfth part of their father's property shall be allowed.

Charges of treason shall not be admitted.

Bequests to the emperor from unknown persons shall be

rejected, and none shall be received from known persons if they have children.

As to hidden treasures, if one shall find such a treasure on his own estate, he shall possess the treasure; if on another's, he shall give half to the owner of the estate; if on public ground, he shall divide equally with the imperial treasury.

Slaves shall not be killed by their masters. Those who deserve death shall be condemned by judges only.

The sale of men and women slaves as gladiators or for vile purposes is forbidden, provided no sufficient reason for such sale exists.

There shall be no houses of correction (*ergastula*) for slaves or freedmen.

In case a master is assassinated in his own house, not all his slaves shall be examined, but those only who are near enough to the master to know something of the deed.

Local offices and games.

Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 19.

In Etruria the emperor held the prætorship; in the Latin cities the offices of dictator, ædile, and duumvir; in Naples he was demarch; in the city of his birth and in Hadria, almost a native city, he was a five-year magistrate; in Athens, an archon. In nearly every city of the realm he erected some building or exhibited games. In the stadium of Athens he gave a hunt of a thousand wild animals; but he would never take an actor or a fighter of beasts from Rome to use in the provinces. . . . In the Circus he allowed many animals to be killed — often a hundred lions at a time. To please the people he often exhibited Pyrrhic dances, and he was himself often present at gladiatorial shows.

Though everywhere he erected countless buildings, he inscribed his name on none of them excepting the temple to his father Trajan. At Rome he restored the Pantheon (of Agrippa), the Sæpta, the Basilica of Neptune, very many sacred buildings, the Forum of Augustus, and the Baths of Agrippa. All these works he dedicated with the names of their founders. Under his own name he built a bridge across the Tiber, and near it a mausoleum.

P. 254.

Freedmen and slaves.

Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 21.

Concerning the conduct of (suspected) judges, he pursued a careful inquiry till he learned the truth. His freedmen he would not recognize in public, nor allow them to have any influence over him, imputing to all earlier emperors the vices of their freedmen and punishing those of his own who boasted of having influenced him. This attitude explains his severe yet almost playful treatment of slaves. Once when he saw at a distance one of his slaves walking between two senators, he sent some one to give him a box on the ear and to say to him, "Do not walk with any person whose slave you may yet become." . . .

Misfortunes.

His reign was afflicted by famine, pestilence, and earthquakes; all these evils he provided against as well as he could, and he came to the relief of cities distressed by such misfortunes. The Tiber, too, overflowed its banks.

Popularity with the soldiers and with foreigners.

To many cities he granted the Latin rights; for many he remitted the tribute. No severe campaigns were necessary under him, and wars were brought quietly to an end. Because of his remarkable care for his soldiers as well as his generosity to them, he was very popular with the army. He always retained the friendship of the Parthians, because he withdrew the king whom Trajan had imposed upon them. Furthermore the Armenians, who under Trajan had been ruled by a Roman governor, were now permitted to have a king. He released the Mesopotamians from the tribute imposed by Trajan. The Albanians and the Iberians were especially friendly because he had given rich presents to their kings, in spite of the fact that the latter had refused to come to him.

Civil discipline.

Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 22.

Very often he appointed guardians. Enforcing discipline among the citizens as rigorously as in the army, he ordered the Roman senators and knights always to wear the toga in public, except when they were returning home from dining out. In Italy he never appeared in public without wearing the toga. When senators came to dine with him, he received them standing, and reclined at table in a mantle (*pallium*)

or a loosened toga. He regulated the expense of banquets with the care of a judge, and brought them back to the ancient standard. Heavily loaded wagons were not to be driven in Rome, and horseback-riding in cities was forbidden. No one but a sick person was allowed to bathe before the eighth hour.

Various activities.

He was the first emperor to appoint knights as secretaries of his correspondence and edicts. The poor and upright he of his own accord enriched, but he hated those who enriched themselves through crafty dealing. To Roman religious ceremonies he paid the most careful attention, whereas foreign religions he despised. He performed the duties of the chief pontiff. Often at Rome and in the provinces he heard lawsuits, with a council composed of consuls, prætors, and best senators. . . . Jurisdiction in Italy he assigned to four judges of consular rank. On his arrival in Africa a rain poured down after a five-years' drought, and this event made the Africans love him.

His last illness.

After wandering bareheaded over every part of the world, often exposing himself to heavy rain and extreme cold, he fell into a mortal sickness. In his anxiety about a successor, he first thought of Servianus, whom he afterward drove to suicide. . . . Finally against the will of all, he adopted Ceionius Commodus Verus as his son, and named him Ælius Verus Cæsar.

Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 23.

On the occasion of this ceremony he celebrated games in the Circus and gave a present to the people and the soldiers. The young Cæsar he honored with the prætorship, then with the governorship of Pannonia, together with the consulship. Hadrian himself paid the expenses of the last-named office, and immediately nominated him consul for a second term. But afterward when he noticed the feeble health of Commodus, he would often remark, "We have leaned on a falling wall, and have squandered four hundred million sesterces on his adoption." On account of illness, Commodus was unable to thank Hadrian in the senate for

his adoption. At last after taking too large a dose of medicine, the heir grew worse, and died in sleep on the first day of January.

His death at Baiæ.

Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 24.

As Hadrian's sickness increased, he adopted Arrius Antoninus — afterward called Pius — on condition that this heir should adopt two sons, Annius Verus and Marcus Antoninus. These two were the first to rule the empire as joint Augusti.

Ib. 25.

Then Hadrian went to Baiæ, while Antoninus remained at Rome to administer the government. But as the emperor made no improvement, he summoned Antoninus, who came and was by his bedside when he died, — on the tenth of July. . . . In his last moments Hadrian is said to have composed these verses:

> Soul of mine, pretty one, flitting one,
> Guest and partner of my clay,
> Whither wilt thou hie away,
> Pallid one, rigid one, naked one —
> Never to play again, never to play?
> — Translation from Merivale's *History of the Romans.*

Personal appearance.

Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 26.

Of the same sort, and not much better, were his Greek verses.

Hadrian was tall, well-built, and of robust constitution. He curled his hair with a comb, and wore his beard long to cover the natural defects of his face. It was his habit to ride on horseback or to walk, and he constantly exercised himself in arms and in throwing the javelin. While hunting he often killed a lion with his own hand; but once he broke his collar-bone and a rib. The game he always shared with his friends. At his dinners his guests were entertained by tragedies, comedies, and farces, as well as by harp music, reading, and poetry. His villa at Tibur he built with such wonderful art that one could find in it representations of celebrated places, as the Lyceum, the Academy, the Prytaneum, Canopus, Tempe, — and that nothing might be wanting, an imitation of the realm of death.

Antoninus Pius

Antoninus Pius emperor, 138–161 A.D.

The parents of Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Antoninus Pius were from Nîmes, Transalpine Gaul. His grandfather, Titus Aurelius, after filling various offices, was elected to a second consulship and to the prefecture of the city. His father Aurelius Fulvus, an upright, austere man, was also consul.

Capitolinus, *Antoninus Pius*, 1.

Ib. 2.

Antoninus was as eminent for good character as for beauty; he was gentle and noble, with serene face and kind disposition. Though he excelled in eloquence and in literary knowledge, he devoted himself soberly and earnestly to rural economy. He was mild, generous, and unselfish, in everything modest and unassuming, — an excellent man, and in the opinion of good people, worthy of comparison with Numa Pompilius. He received from the senate the surname Pius, possibly because in the senate-house he was seen supporting on his arm his father-in-law, then feeble with age . . . or because after the death of his adoptive father Hadrian, he conferred a great number of extraordinary honors on him against the wishes of all, or because his great care and watchfulness had prevented Hadrian from committing suicide, or because he was extremely merciful throughout his reign and permitted nothing harsh.

His liberality.

He lent money at four per cent, the lowest rate of interest, but even with this profit he was able to help many people from his income. As quæstor he was liberal, as prætor magnificent. He was consul with Catilius Severus. Most of his private life he passed on his country estates, but was well known everywhere. Consulting at once his honor and his desire for quiet life, Hadrian made him one of the four consular judges of Italy and assigned him to the district in which lay most of his landed property.

His respect for Hadrian.

As long as his adoptive father lived, Antoninus paid him the most respectful obedience. When the father died at

Capitolinus, *Antoninus Pius*, 5.

Baiæ, the son brought his ashes piously and reverently to Rome, where he deposited them in the gardens of Domitia; and in spite of strong opposition he had his father decreed a god. He permitted the senate to confer the name Augusta on his wife and Pius on himself, and gladly accepted the statues decreed to his own father, mother, grandparents, and brothers, who were now all dead.

His justice and tact.

Capitolinus, *Antoninus Pius*, 6.

He commanded the procurators to act mildly in collecting the tribute, and those who disobeyed he called to account. To him there was no satisfaction in gains made at the expense of the provincials; for this reason he readily listened to complaints against procurators. In asking pardon of the senate for those whom Hadrian had condemned, he tactfully remarked, "My father intended to make this request." The imperial majesty he elevated by his politeness to every one; but this kindness of heart vexed the courtiers, for as the emperor conducted no business through agents, they were unable to frighten people and had no secrets to sell.

Relations with the senate.

To the senate the emperor paid the respect which, when in private life, he had desired to receive from the prince; and when this body offered him the title of Father of his Country, at first he refused but afterward accepted the honor with sincere thanks. In the third year of his reign he lost his wife Faustina, whom the senate thereupon honored with games in the Circus, with a temple and priestesses, with golden and silver statues.

His public benefits.

Capitolinus, *Antoninus Pius*, 8.

The emperor made a gift of corn to the people and of money to the soldiers. In memory of his wife Faustina he instituted a fund for the education of girls, who accordingly were called Faustinianæ. The following are the public works which he built: at Rome a temple to Hadrian, devoted to the worship of his adoptive father; the Græcostadium restored after having been burned; the amphitheatre renovated; the tomb of Hadrian, the temple of Agrippa, the Sublician Bridge, the Pharos restored; the harbor of Caieta, the harbor of Tarracina improved; the

(The Græcostadium is probably identical with the Græcostasis, a plat-

Ostian Baths, an aqueduct at Antium, and the Lanuvian temples. Many cities, too, he aided with money in building new works or in repairing the old, and he helped magistrates and Roman senators defray the expenses of their offices. Legacies from persons with children he would not accept; and he was the first to enact that no penalty should annul a testament.

form in the Forum, from which foreign ambassadors could listen to the speeches delivered in the assembly.)

His treatment of officials and senators.

As long as an upright judge lived, Antoninus kept him in office, with the exception of Orphytus, the city prefect, who was retired at his own request. As a result of this wise rule Gavius Maximus, the pretorian prefect, a very strict man, held his office twenty years under this emperor. Gavius was succeeded by Tatius Maximus, at whose death Antoninus appointed two prefects, — Fabius Repetinus and Cornelius Victorinus. . . . So far was the emperor from putting any senator to death that one of them, a confessed murderer of a parent, was merely exposed on a desert island, for the laws of nature did not permit such a man to live.

When there was a lack of wine, oil, and wheat, he relieved the want by buying up provisions with his own funds and distributing them free among the people.

The senate decreed to name the months of September and October Antoninus and Faustinus, but the emperor refused the honor. The marriage of his daughter Faustina with Marcus Aurelius he celebrated with great magnificence and with gifts of money to the soldiers. After his other son, Verus Antoninus, had filled the office of quæstor, the emperor made him consul.

His children.

Capitolinus, *Antoninus Pius*, 10.

The father engaged Apollonius to come to Rome from Chalcis to take charge of the education of Marcus; but when he invited this man to the palace of Tiberius, — at that time the imperial residence, — Apollonius refused to come, saying in explanation, "The master ought not to go to the pupil, but the pupil should come to the master." With a smile Antoninus remarked, "It is easier for Apollo-

nius to come from Chalcis to Rome than from his lodgings to the palace."

An illustration of the emperor's kindness of heart is the story that when Marcus was lamenting the death of his teacher, and the courtiers were trying to restrain him from showing his love, Antoninus remarked, "Let him be human; neither philosophy nor empire kills the affections."

His recreations.

Capitolinus, *Antoninus Pius*, 11.

Antoninus loved the theatre. He found great enjoyment in fishing and hunting as well as in walking and conversing with his friends. The vintage festival he celebrated like a private person in company with his friends. Throughout all the provinces he honored rhetoricians and philosophers and granted them maintenance.

The extant orations which pass under his name most authorities say were composed by others; yet Marius Maximus declares they are the emperor's own. His friends dined with him privately as well as on state occasions; and he never allowed a sacrifice to be made by another in his place, unless he was sick. When he sought honors for himself or his sons, he did it as a private citizen. He often dined at the houses of his friends. The following story illustrates his politeness. Once he visited the house of Homullus, and admiring its columns of porphyry, he inquired of the owner where he got them. Homullus replied, "When you enter the house of another, you should be deaf and dumb." The emperor patiently submitted to the rebuke; in fact he always listened without irritation to this man's numerous jokes.

His legislation; his death.

Capitolinus, *Antoninus Pius*, 12.

Antoninus made many laws, in which he employed the learned jurists, Vindius Verus, Salvius Valens, Volusius Mæcianus, Ulpius Marcellus, and Diavolenus. Seditions, wherever excited, he settled with moderation and dignity rather than with harshness. The burial of the dead within cities was forbidden, and a fixed sum provided for gladiatorial shows. . . . Of all his acts he gave an account in the senate as well as through proclamations.

Although he was seventy years old when he died, his subjects mourned for him as if he were a youth.

Personal appearance and character.

Capitolinus, *Antoninus Pius*, 13.

Antoninus was tall and comely in person; and when old age bowed his stately form, he bound his breast with linden boards to hold him upright as he walked. In his later years he used to eat a piece of dried bread before the morning reception, to strengthen himself for his social duties. His voice was deep and sonorous but agreeable.

With perfect unanimity the senate deified him, while all praised his devotion to duty, his mercy, and his holy life. It decreed him all the honors it had ever given to the best princes, including a priest to attend to his worship, games in the Circus, a temple, and a college of Antonine brothers. He was almost the only emperor who, so far as in him lay, passed his life free from the blood of citizens and foreigners, and who might justly be compared with Numa in good fortune, piety, and calmness, as well as in the observance of religious rites on every proper occasion.

"Imitate his character."

Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, vi. 30.

Do everything as a disciple of Antoninus. Remember his constancy in every act, which was conformable to reason, and his evenness in all things, and his piety, and the serenity of his countenance, and his sweetness, and his disregard of empty fame, and his efforts to understand things; and how he would never let anything pass without having first most carefully examined it and clearly understood it; and how he bore with those who blamed him unjustly without blaming them in return; how he did nothing in a hurry; and how he listened not to calumnies, and how exact an examiner of manners and actions he was; and not given to reproach people, nor timid, not suspicious, nor a sophist; and with how little he was satisfied, such as lodging, bed, dress, food, servants; and how laborious and patient . . . and his firmness and uniformity in his friendships; and how he tolerated freedom of speech in those who opposed his opinions; and the pleasure he had when any man showed him anything better; and how religious he was without superstition. Imi-

tate all this that thou mayest have as good a conscience when thy last hour comes, as he had.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus

His early life.

Capitolinus, *Marcus Antoninus*, 1.

Ib. 2.

Marcus Antoninus, who through the changing fortunes of life remained true to philosophy, excelled all other emperors in the purity of his character.

From his childhood he was serious; and when he had outgrown the care of nurses, he was placed under famous teachers, who instructed him in the principles of philosophy. . . . Even as a boy he devoted himself with great enthusiasm to learning; in his twelfth year he put on the garb of the philosophers and adopted their severe mode of life, wearing their mantle and sleeping on the bare ground. With difficulty his mother persuaded him to recline on a couch covered with skins.

His accession, 161 A.D.

Capitolinus, *Marcus Antoninus*, 7.

To his twenty-third year, during all the time he passed in the palace of his adoptive father, his conduct was such that the father's love for him grew greater and greater. In all these years the son was absent from the father but two nights only, and these not in succession. Accordingly as Antoninus felt his own end approaching, he gathered his friends and the prefects about him, and in their presence he recommended Marcus as his successor. . . . After the departure of the sainted Antoninus, the senate required Marcus to undertake the government. Immediately he associated with himself in power his brother, whom he thereupon named Lucius Aurelius Verus Commodus, and added the titles Cæsar and Augustus. From that hour forth they enjoyed equal shares of authority, so that for the first time the Roman empire had two Augusti.

The character of his rule.

The people enjoyed under him as full freedom as had been theirs under the republic. The tendency of all his measures was to restrain men from evil and to encourage them to virtue. By bountiful rewards, by indulgence and

freedom, he made the bad good and the good better; and he patiently endured all taunts. For instance, a certain Vetrasinus, a man of ill repute, asked him for an office; and when the emperor advised him first to win a better reputation in the eyes of the public, he replied, "I see many prætors who have fought against me in the arena." Antoninus quietly submitted to the gibe.

Capitolinus, *Marcus Antoninus*, 12.

Such was the terror of the impending Marcomannic War that Antoninus summoned priests from every quarter of the world, filled Rome with foreign rites, and purified the city by all the means in his power. These ceremonies delayed him in setting out for the war. For seven days he held the *lectisternia* according to Roman rites.

War and pestilence.

Capitolinus, *Marcus Antoninus*, 13.

(A festival in which images of certain gods were placed at table on couches.)

At the same time a pestilence raged at Rome with such violence that the bodies of the dead had to be borne away on common carriages and wagons. On this occasion the Antonines passed the strictest regulations regarding burial and tombs. . . . Many thousands of people, including a great number of eminent men, succumbed to the plague. The most respectable among them received statues from the emperor, by whose kindness, too, the bodies of the common people were given burial at public expense.

An impostor.

At this time a certain impostor with some confederates sought an opportunity to plunder the city. Climbing a wild fig-tree in the Campus Martius, he told the crowd, which had gathered about him, that if in falling from the tree he should change into a stork, fire would come down from heaven to destroy the world. At a stated time, accordingly, he fell from the tree, while he allowed a stork to escape from his bosom. He was brought before the emperor, who pardoned him after receiving his confession.

The emperor's kinsmen.

Capitolinus, *Marcus Antoninus*, 16.

Toward all his kinsmen Marcus cherished so benevolent a disposition that he not only loaded them with honors of every kind, but granted his son, a vile, wicked creature, first the title of Cæsar, and presently the priestly dignity, the title of emperor, a share in a triumph, and the consulship.

It was on this occasion that the emperor himself walked in the Circus by the side of the triumphal car in which rode his son.

The Marcomannic War.

Capitolinus, *Marcus Antoninus*, 17.

After the death of Verus, Marcus ruled the provinces with the utmost moderation and gentleness. In his war with the Germans he was successful; and with great valor as well as with good fortune he brought personally to an end the Marcomannic War — a conflict as formidable as any in history. This result he achieved at a time when a severe plague was destroying many thousands of people and soldiers. Pannonia he liberated from slavery by the total overthrow of the Marcomanni, Sarmatians, Vandals, and Quadi. He then celebrated his victory in a triumph along with Commodus, whom he had already named Cæsar.

The sale of valuables.

In paying the expenses of the war, he had exhausted the treasury; and unwilling to levy an extraordinary tax on the provinces, he held an auction of the imperial valuables in the Forum of the divine Trajan, and there sold the bowls of gold, crystal, and porcelain, the imperial vases, his wife's gold-embroidered, silk robes, and even the jewels, a great quantity of which he found in Hadrian's secret cabinet. This auction, lasting two months, brought so much money that Marcus was enabled to prosecute the Marcomannic War to a desirable close, and was afterward in a position to give the buyers the privilege of returning whatever they pleased and of recovering their money, without troubling any one, however, who wished or who did not wish, to restore the goods. At that time he granted the higher nobility the privilege of giving dinners with the same splendor and the same table-furnishings as he himself enjoyed. So liberal was he, too, in his public expenses that he once exhibited a hundred lions and had them shot with arrows.

His death, 180 A.D.

He reigned in the affections of all; some called him a beloved brother, others a father, and others a son, as each one's age suggested. At last he died in the eighteenth year of his reign and the sixty-first of his life. So brightly did

his love shine over all on that day that no one thought of mourning him, for all were convinced that he had come to them from the gods and had now returned to heaven.

Capitolinus, *Marcus Antoninus*, 18.

Some of the Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus

From the reputation and remembrance of my father I learned modesty and manliness.

From his parents and teachers.

From my mother, piety and beneficence, and abstinence not only from evil deeds, but even from evil thoughts; simplicity, too, in my way of living, far removed from the habits of the rich.

Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, i. 2–9, 12, 14.

From Diognetus, not to busy myself about trifles, and not to give credit to the sayings of miracle-workers and jugglers about incantations and the driving away of demons and such things; and not to breed quails (for fighting), nor to give myself up passionately to such things; and to endure freedom of speech; and to have become acquainted with philosophy; and to have been a hearer, first of Bacchius, then of Tandasis and Marcianus; and to have written dialogues in my youth; and to have desired a plank bed and skin, and whatever else of the kind belongs to the Grecian discipline.

From Rusticus I received the impression that my character required improvement and discipline; and from him I learned not be led astray to sophistic rivalry, nor to writing on speculative matters, nor to delivering little hortatory orations, nor to showing myself off as a man who practices much discipline, or does benevolent acts in order to make a display; and to abstain from rhetoric and poetry and fine writing; and not to walk about in the house in my outdoor dress, nor to do other things of the kind; and to write my letters with simplicity, like the letter which Rusticus wrote from Sinuessa to my mother; and with respect to those who have offended me by words or done me wrong, to be easily disposed to be pacified and reconciled,

as soon as they have shown a readiness to be reconciled; and to read carefully and not be satisfied with a superficial understanding of a book, nor hastily to give my assent to those who talk overmuch.

From Apollonius I learned freedom of will and an undeviating steadiness of purpose; and to look to nothing else, not even for a moment, except to reason; and to be always the same, in sharp pains, on the occasion of the loss of a child, and in long illness.

From Sextus, a benevolent disposition, and the example of a family governed in a fatherly manner, and the idea of living conformably to nature; and gravity without affectation, and to look carefully after the interest of friends, and to tolerate ignorant persons, and those who form opinions without consideration. He had the power of readily accommodating himself to all, so that intercourse with him was more agreeable than any flattery; and at the same time he was most highly venerated by those who associated with him; and he had the faculty both of discovering and of ordering in an intelligent and methodical way, the principles necessary for life; and he never showed anger or any other passion, but was entirely free from passion, and also most affectionate; and he could express approbation without noisy display, and he possessed much knowledge without ostentation.

From Alexander, the follower of Plato, not frequently nor without necessity to say to any one or to write in a letter that I have no leisure; nor continually to excuse the neglect of duties toward those with whom we live, by alleging urgent occupations.

From Severus, to love my kin, and to love truth, and to love justice. . . . And from him I received the idea of a government in which there is equal law for all, a government administered with regard to equal rights and equal freedom of speech, and an idea of kingly government, which respects most of all the freedom of the governed.

Never value anything as profitable to thyself which shall compel thee to break thy promise, to lose thy self-respect, to hate any man, to suspect, to curse, to act the hypocrite, to desire anything which needs walls and curtains. **Harmony with nature** *Meditations*, iii. 7.

As physicians have always their instruments and knives ready for cases which suddenly require their skill, so do thou have principles ready for the understanding of things divine and human, and for doing everything, even the smallest, with a recollection of the bond which unites the divine and human to each other. For neither wilt thou do anything well which pertains to man without at the same time having a reference to things divine; or the contrary. *Ib.* iii. 13.

Take away thy opinion, and then there is taken away the complaint, "I have been harmed." Take away the complaint, "I have been harmed," and the harm is taken away. *Ib.* iv. 7.

Everything harmonizes with me, which is harmonious to thee, O Universe. Nothing for me is too early or too late, which is in due time for thee. Everything is fruit to me which thy seasons bring, O Nature; from thee are all things, in thee are all things, and to thee all things return. *Ib.* iv. 23.

Constantly regard the universe as one living being, having one substance and one soul; and observe how all things have reference to one perception, the perception of this one living being; and how all things act with one movement; and how all things are the coöperating causes of all things which exist. *Ib.* iv. 40.

A prayer of the Athenians: "Rain, rain, O dear Zeus, down on the ploughed fields of the Athenians, and on the plains." In truth we ought not to pray at all, or we ought to pray in this simple and noble fashion. *Ib.* v. 7.

How hast thou behaved hitherto to the gods, thy parents, brethren, children, teachers, to those who looked after thy infancy, to thy friends, kinsfolk, to thy slaves? Consider if thou hast hitherto behaved to all in such a way that this may be said of thee, — *Ib.* v. 31.

Never has wronged a man in deed or word.

Meditations, vi. 2. Let it make no difference to thee whether thou art cold or warm, if thou art doing thy duty; and whether thou art drowsy or satisfied with sleep; and whether ill-spoken of or praised; and whether dying or doing something else. For it is one of the acts of life — this act by which we die; it is sufficient then in this act also to do well what we have in hand.

Ib. vi. 28. Death is a cessation of the impressions through the senses, and of the pulling of the strings which move the appetites . . . and of service to the flesh.

Ib. vii. 9. All things are implicated with one another, and the bond is holy; and there is hardly anything unconnected with any other thing. For things have been coördinated, and they combine to form the same universe. For there is one universe made up of all things, and one God who pervades all things, and one substance and one law, one common reason in all intelligent animals, and one truth.

Do right on principle. *Meditations*, viii. 43. Different things delight different people. But it is my delight to keep the ruling faculty sound, without turning away either from any man or from any of the things which happen to men, but looking at and receiving all with welcome eyes and using everything according to its value.

Ib. x. 5. Whatever may happen to thee, it was prepared for thee from all eternity; and the implication of causes was from eternity spinning the thread of thy being.

Ib. x. 10. A spider is proud when he has caught a fly, and another being when he has caught a poor hare, and another when he has taken a little fish in a net, and another when he has taken wild boars, and another when he has taken bears, and another when he has taken Sarmatians. Are not these robbers, if thou examinest their opinions?

Ib. x. 21. "The earth loves the shower;" and "the solemn ether loves;" and the universe loves to reproduce whatever is about to be. I say then to the universe, "I love as thou lovest."

Ib. xi. 29. Neither in writing nor in reading wilt thou be able to lay

down rules for others before thou shalt have first learned to obey rules thyself. Much more is this so in life. *Meditations*, xi. 36.

No man can rob us of our free will.

Future life.

How can it be that the gods, after having arranged all things well and benevolently for mankind, have overlooked this alone, that some men and very good men, and men who, as we may say, have had most communion with the divinity, and through pious acts and religious observances have been most intimate with the divinity, when they have once died should never exist again, but should be completely extinguished? *Meditations*, xxi. 5.

How small a part of the boundless and unfathomable time is assigned to every man! For it is very soon swallowed up in the eternal. And how small a part of the whole substance! And how small a part of the universal soul! And on what a small clod of the whole earth thou creepest! Reflecting on all this, consider nothing to be great, except to act as thy nature leads thee, and to endure that which the common nature brings. *Ib.* xii. 32.

Man, thou hast been a citizen in this great state (of the world): what difference does it make to thee whether for five years or for three? For that which conforms to the laws is just for all. Where is the hardship then, if no tyrant nor yet an unjust judge sends thee away from the state, but nature, who brought thee into it? The same as if a prætor who has employed an actor dismisses him from the stage. "I have not finished the five acts, but only three." Thou sayest well, but in life the three acts are the whole drama; for what shall be a completed drama is determined by him who was once the cause of its composition, and now of its dissolution: but thou art the cause of neither. Depart then satisfied, for he also who releases thee is satisfied. *Ib.* xii. 36.

STUDIES

1. What is the significance of the fact that in this period (96–180 A.D.) provincials began to rise to the office of emperor ?

2. What indications are there that Nerva was timid ? that he was too weak and mild to rule ? What charitable institution did he found (afterward developed by Trajan ; cf. *Rome*, p. 248)? Why did not Antoninus congratulate Nerva on his accession ?

3. What were Trajan's admirable social qualities ? What were his chief merits as a ruler ?

4. What was the extent of his conquests ? What became of them after his death (cf. *Rome*, p. 251 ; *Ancient History*, p. 403)?

5. What proof does his correspondence with Pliny afford of his interest in the welfare of the empire ? of his energy and activity ? of his justice and humanity ?

6. Why did he forbid the organization of a fire-company (cf. a law of the Twelve Tables, p. 93)?

7. From the same correspondence what may we infer as to Pliny's qualifications for the governorship of a province ? Why did he refer everything to the emperor ? Do you suppose that other governors did the same ? Was his interference in the affairs of the cities (*municipia*) advantageous to the latter ? In what case was Pliny ready to resort to oppression ?

8. What does the correspondence teach concerning the Christians ? How did the government regard secret assemblies (cf. Letter 43)? Why in Pliny's opinion should the Christians be punished ?

9. What were the objects of Hadrian's travels ? How did he improve the army ? What public works did he build ?

10. Why did Hadrian pry into the affairs of his friends ? Was this a culpable habit ? In what respects was his inquiring disposition praiseworthy ?

11. What were Hadrian's chief laws ? What improvements did they make in the condition of freemen and of slaves ?

12. Why did he hold local offices in various places ? How did he benefit the provinces ? Did he pay more attention to the provinces than to Rome ? What is said of his administration of Rome and Italy ?

13. Describe the personal appearance and the private character of Hadrian ?

14. What is your opinion of the style of his biographer (Spartianus)? Is it well connected and logical ? Rewrite the biography arranging all the material logically under appropriate topics.

15. Describe the character of Antoninus Pius. How did he treat his adoptive father Hadrian ? the senators ? the people and soldiers ? the magistrates ?

16. Who were the Faustinianæ ? What public works did the emperor build ? Did he take as much interest in the provinces as Hadrian had shown ?

17. What kind of a man was Apollonius ?

18. Describe the personal appearance of Antoninus. What were the excellent traits of his character mentioned by his adopted son, Marcus Aurelius ?

19. Describe the childhood and youth of Marcus Aurelius.

20. How did he try to improve the character of his subjects ? Did he treat his kinsmen with too great indulgence ?

21. What religious preparation did he make for the Marcomannic War ? What feature of his character does this work disclose ? How did he raise funds for the war ?

22. What did he learn from his various teachers and relatives ? Does he mean to say that he acquired all these good qualities ?

23. What was his idea of a good government ?

24. What was his view of nature and of his relation to it ? How did he regard duty ? pleasure and pain ? What did he think of conquerors ?

25. What was his belief as to death and the future life ?

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